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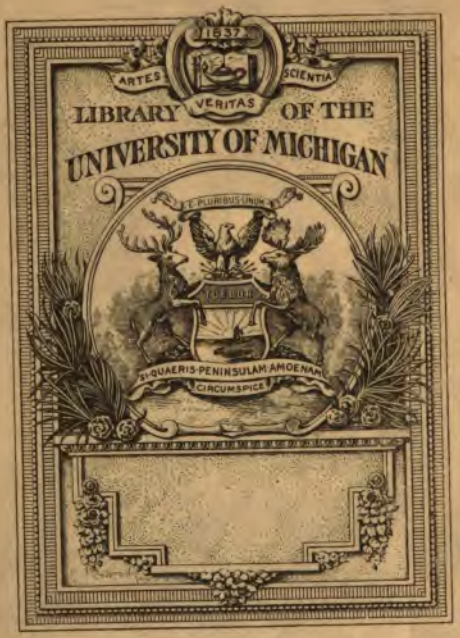
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CHRISTIAN EXAMINER

AND

GENERAL REVIEW.

VOL. XVIII.

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THE

CHRISTIAN EXAMINER.

No. LXVII.

NEW SERIES — No. XXXVII.

MARCH, 1835.

ART. I. — *Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Mrs. Hannah More.* By WILLIAM ROBERTS, Esq. In 2 vols. New York. Harper & Brothers. 1834. 12mo.

HAPPILY for his readers, the compiler has left Mrs. More in these pleasant volumes to speak chiefly for herself. And if in books, as in law, the maxim holds "*Quod facit per alium facit per se*," — what we get done by another is as if done by one's self, Mr. Roberts is entitled to no small commendation for furnishing a biography, more than usually interesting and instructive, composed of letters, journals, and sayings of that distinguished personage, to whom the world has been indebted for more than half a century for no small share of its edification and pleasure. Of the extent of their obligation for his good sense in adopting this method, our readers may form an idea from the specimen of what the work might have been, had the worthy compiler thought proper frequently to introduce himself. Indeed, we owe him much for his forbearance in this regard, seeing that he has found it in his heart to offer the following as a meet introduction to the work.

"In the twilight of the old, and in the dawn of the new era, Mrs. More accomplished her date here, — succeeded, it may be, by ladies more talking and talked about, but probably by none so capable of making the voice of instruction echo from the cottage to the saloon, — from the house of clay to the hall of cedar. To embody the likeness and perpetuate the remembrance of such a person is to preserve the best specimen of the past to be contrasted with the present generation, and in some

sort to repress the rising fancies, fopperies, and excesses, which are apt to accompany the developement of new opinions, and to propel the mind in a career of self-adulation to a dangerous distance from old paths, and the lights of experience. There was a happy balance in the qualities of this gifted lady, which kept her from all extremes. With a due estimate of the value of modern advancement, she retained the savour of our island character, as it was once distinguished by its probity and plainness among the communities of Christendom." — Vol. I. pp. 13, 14.

So much has already been known of this remarkable lady, from her numerous writings and the biographical notices, which long before her death were in general circulation, in America as well as in England, that scarce any memoirs, that should now be written, could add much to her celebrity; though they might present, as do these, many interesting facts. They who have read, — and we grieve for those who have not, — "The Search after Happiness," "The Shepherd of Salisbury Plain," "'T is all for the Best," "Tom White, the Post-Boy," "Cœlebs in Search of a Wife," "Village Politics," "Strictures on Female Education," or "Thoughts on the Manners of the Great," — need not be told, or, if they do, let these volumes instruct them, that Hannah More was the youngest but one of five sisters, all of whom dwelt together from their infancy in one family, and died unmarried in a good old age, she with a fame that heroes might envy, and they highly esteemed for their exemplary and singularly useful lives. Their father, Mr. Jacob More, was educated at Norwich with a view to the church, by a brother of the celebrated Dr. Samuel Clarke; but, disappointed in his professional prospects, he became master of a seminary for boys at Stapleton in Gloucestershire, where, in the memorable 1745, Miss Hannah was born. When she was twelve years old, her parents removed to Bristol, intending that their daughters should receive such an education as should qualify them to procure a respectable independence by the establishment of a boarding-school. Such a school was first opened by the eldest Miss More, who was not then twenty-one. She took charge, among her other pupils, of Hannah, who was then scarcely twelve. Thus, by the excellent character and good sense of Miss More, the eldest of the family, was laid the foundation of a seminary, which afterwards flourished greatly,

and enabled the sisters, at the end of thirty years, to retire and enjoy together a moderate independence, the fruit of their affectionate coöperation and honorable exertions.

Several interesting incidents are recorded of the childhood and youth of Miss More; of the precocity of her genius, of her sportive wit, of her lively spirits, always chastened by her piety; of her tendency also from childhood to a morbid sensibility of constitution, which at intervals throughout the whole of her long life subjected her to acute sufferings. In 1762, when she was in her seventeenth year, she wrote the "Search after Happiness." At twenty, she had successfully cultivated the Latin, Italian, and Spanish languages, imitating and translating with spirit and elegance favorite pieces in each of these. Among the earliest literary friends her talents acquired, was Dean Tucker of Gloucester, celebrated for his spirit of freedom, and for his writings against the American war. The Dean was accustomed to submit to his young friend his political pamphlets; and when she represented to him that such subjects were out of the reach of her comprehension, he would answer, "Pish, no such thing! common sense will ever appeal to common sense."

There is a passage in the youthful history of this honored lady, of such importance in itself, and so certain of exciting the intense interest of our readers, that we cannot prevail upon ourselves to overlook it. To multitudes of her sex, and of ours, nothing touching her history will probably be regarded with deeper solicitude than the fact, that notwithstanding all her wit, genius, and fine temper, Hannah More still lived and died a single woman. At about the age of twenty-two, she received the addresses of a gentleman of fortune, but more than twenty years older than herself. Her biographer represents him as a man of strict honor and integrity, who had received a liberal education, had cultivated a taste for poetry, as well as his large estate, and was esteemed within the circle of his friends. It is, however, very obvious that he was also a nervous old bachelor, wanting a composed temper, and had acquired, as is natural to his caste, a world of wants, and whims, and petty habits, which he hated to give up. Lingering, therefore, on the very brink of matrimony, afraid to venture; his fancy, meanwhile, distracted by a dread, not absolutely unpardonable in one who had so long been free, of subjection to a literary lady; he did what multitudes have

done, before and after him, — some with apparent impunity and others to their visible hurt, — broke off the engagement. A letter of recent date addressed to the executrix of Mrs. More soon after her decease, written by an intimate friend, personally acquainted with the whole course of this delicate transaction, is here given. And we are the more particular in adopting so authentic a statement, because we have reason to believe, that this early disappointment, sustained as it was throughout by the young lady with a dignity and sweetness of conduct worthy of her maturest years, was perverted to the occasion of a slander, which could dishonor no one but its base or inconsiderate authors.

"'*Keynsham, near Bristol, Feb.* 10, 1834.

"'My Dear Madam,

"'I knew the late Mrs. Hannah More for nearly sixty-four years, I may say most intimately; for during my ten years' residence with her sisters, I was received and treated, not as a scholar, but as a child of their own, in a confidential and affectionate manner; and ever since the commencement of our acquaintance, the same friendly intercourse has been kept up by letters and visiting. I was living at her sister's when Mr. Turner paid his addresses to her; for it was owing to my cousin Turner (whom my father had placed at their school) that she became acquainted with Mr. Turner. He always had his cousins, the two Misses Turner, to spend their holydays with him, as a most respectable, worthy lady managed and kept his house for him. His residence at Belmont was beautifully situated, and he had carriages and horses, and every thing to make a visit to Belmont agreeable. He permitted his cousins to ask any young persons at the school to spend their vacations with them. Their governesses being nearly of their own age, they made choice of the two youngest of the sisters, — Hannah and Patty More. The consequence was natural. She was very clever and fascinating, and he was generous and sensible; he became attached, and made his offer, which was accepted. He was a man of large fortune, and she was young and dependent; she quitted her interest in the concern of the school, and was at great expense in preparing and fitting herself out to be the wife of a man of large fortune. The day was fixed more than once for the marriage; and Mr. Turner each time postponed it. Her sisters and friends interfered, and would not permit her to be so treated and trifled with. He continued in the wish to marry her; but her friends, after his

former conduct, and on other accounts, persevered in keeping up her determination not to renew the engagement.

"'I am, dear madam, &c.'

"In this difficulty (we borrow still from the same authentic source), Sir James Stonehouse was applied to for his timely interposition, and his assistance was promptly afforded. In the counsel of such a friend she found resolution to terminate this anxious and painful treaty. The final separation was amicably agreed upon, and the contracting parties broke off their intercourse by mutual consent. At their last conversation together, Mr. Turner proposed to settle an annuity upon her; a proposal which was with dignity and firmness rejected, and the intercourse appeared to be absolutely at an end. Let it be recorded, however, in justice to the memory of this gentleman, that his mind was ill at ease till an interview was obtained with Dr. Stonehouse, to whom he declared his intention to secure to Miss More, with whom he had considered his union as certain, an annual sum, which might enable her to devote herself to her literary pursuits, and compensate, in some degree, for the robbery he had committed upon her time. Dr. Stonehouse consulted with the friends of the parties, and the consultation terminated in a common opinion that, all things considered, a part of the sum proposed might be accepted without the sacrifice of delicacy or propriety, and the settlement was made without the knowledge of the lady, Dr. Stonehouse consenting to become the agent and trustee. It was not, however, till some time after the affair had been thus concluded, that the consent of Miss More could be obtained by the importunity of her friends.

"The regard and respect of Mr. Turner for Miss More was continued through his life; her virtues and excellences were his favorite theme among his intimate friends, and at his death he bequeathed her a thousand pounds." — Vol. I. pp. 28, 29.

If now, there are any who are still anxious to know, if, after all this, Miss More entertained further thoughts, or was perplexed by other opportunities, of bestowing her hand and heart, it will convey to them a sensible relief to know, — and having stated it in the very words of the biographer, we shall dismiss the subject, as did the lady herself, from our thoughts altogether, — that

"Her correct and tender mind, which did not come out from these embarrassments without a certain degree of distress and disturbance, seemed to seek relief in the resolution which she formed and kept, of avoiding a similar entanglement. Nor did

her resolution want its trial and its testimony. Not long afterward her hand was again solicited and refused; and, as it happened in the former case, the attachment of the proposer was succeeded by a cordial respect, which was met on her part by a corresponding sentiment, and which ended only with his existence." — Vol. I. p. 30.

A very interesting period succeeded this severe trial in the private history of Miss More. In 1773, when in her twenty-eighth year, she first appeared before the public in her own name as an author. Her earliest acknowledged publication was her pastoral drama, "Search after Happiness," — copies of which, however, in manuscript had been long before within the circle of her Bristol friends. To this succeeded two poems, the one, "Sir Eldred of the Bower," the other a legendary tale, "The Bleeding Rock." These, with her tragedy of "The Inflexible Captive," attracted the notice of the celebrated Garrick, of Mrs. Elizabeth Montagu, and others, so that in her earliest visits to the metropolis she was welcomed with the admiration which her fine talents had excited. From this period she appears to have made regular annual visits, sometimes for months together, to London. Here she soon became the favored and delighted inmate of Mr. and Mrs. Garrick, the intimate companion of Elizabeth Montagu, the desired guest of the very foremost in the circles of wit, and fashion, and nobility itself. Here, under the powerful patronage of Garrick, who "stood as the House of Lords to dramatic poets," — there lying no appeal from his to any higher authority, — her tragedy of "Percy" was performed for many successive nights with brilliant success, diffusing widely her fame as an author. It brought her into vogue, — to adopt the befitting word, — with the gay as well as with the dignified of the London coteries. For that happened to her, which happens still to favorites in the British metropolis, and is not altogether without example, as some of our readers may have heard, and perchance have experienced, in this our own little "emporium," — that when fashion has once set its seal to a name, that name for a season shall ring. It shall be in all mouths; and the poor favorite that bears it must be in all parties too, though it be to the severing of limb from limb, or of spirit from body. Just so was it with our heroine. From the time she first visited London in company with two of her sisters, in 1773 or 1774, till after the death of Dr. John-

son, in 1784, several months of each year she spent in London. Here, though averse to most public amusements, she frequently attended the theatre, to hear her friend Garrick, then in his professional glory, and was there a modest eye-witness of his power in giving splendid effect to two of her own tragedies. He seems to have delighted in introducing her to the most gifted of his own acquaintance. Invitations flowed in from every quarter, as well to the exquisite dinner-parties of the *élite*, as to the crowded drawing-rooms of right-honorable ladies, delighting to make happy "their troops of friends." Wherever she went, she was sure of being caressed. "If Hannah's head," says one of her sisters, in a letter of 1776, "stands proof against all the adulation and kindness of the great folks here, I will venture to say that nothing of this kind will hurt her hereafter." They who have associated her name with only her later productions, will be surprised to learn, that among her correspondents who were favored with some of her liveliest letters, was the witty Horace Walpole, afterwards Lord Orford. But this eccentric nobleman, whose genius, it must be confessed, was far in advance of his religion, was but one of a circle composed of such as Johnson and Garrick; Sir Joshua Reynolds and Edmund Burke; Barrington, the venerable prelate of Durham, who in his charities united the munificence of a prince to the simplicity and benevolence of a christian pastor; Porteus, the faithful and accomplished Bishop of London; Dean Tucker; Dr. Burney, the elegant and learned Professor of Music; Sir William Pepys; and Bryant, the Mythologist. With these must never be forgotten, — for she was always dining or spending whole days with them, — Mrs. Montagu, "not only," says Hannah, "the finest genius, but the finest lady I ever saw;" Mrs. Boscawen; the widow of Garrick; the elegant Duchess of Portland; Mrs. Chapone; Mrs. Carter; Mrs. Delany, the long honored protegée of old King George and his Queen; Mrs. Macaulay, the republican, whom Johnson for that reason delighted to tease; with a numerous host besides, among whom, as she occasionally met them, are to be found the names of Dr. Beattie and Mackenzie, visiters like herself to the city; and lastly, as his master was so often there, Boswell we may be certain was not wanting.

This part of her Memoirs is full of literary anecdote. Though not occupying any considerable portion of the whole

work, it abounds in wise reflections, witty observations, and agreeable anecdote, touching events, persons, and characters, with whom the author was so intimately conversant. Of Dr. Johnson, for example, there are some most pleasant notices and sayings. We know not where, not even in the pages of his own Bozzy, he appears to such advantage as in the letters and diary of Miss More. He was charmed with the talents, vivacity, and above all with the piety of his young friend. He particularly mentioned to the sister of Sir Joshua Reynolds, "how much he had been touched with the enthusiasm, evidently genuine and unaffected, which was visible in her whole manner." And in his own to her, though he had reached his three-score years and ten, he seems to have renewed the kindness and gentleness of his early days.

A few extracts from her own letters, or from those of Miss Sarah More, one of her sprightly sisters,* who accompanied her to London, and seems to have taken as much delight in Hannah's fame, as if it had been her own, will afford, says her biographer, "the best picture of the intercourse and scenes in which she was now beginning to bear a part."

"*From Miss Sarah More to one of her sisters.*

"'*London*, 1775.

"'Tuesday evening we drank tea at Sir Joshua's, with Dr. Johnson. Hannah is certainly a great favorite. She was placed next him, and they had the entire conversation to themselves. They were both in remarkably high spirits; it was certainly her lucky night! I never heard her say so many good

* We copy with pleasure the following note by Mr. Roberts of this excellent lady. And this we do from a love of justice. For it happens too frequently, that in a family of brothers or sisters, where one is preëminently distinguished, as was the case in this, the less splendid, though probably not less useful qualities of the rest are overshadowed or forgotten.

"If there be any persons remaining who are or were in habits of social intercourse with the family of Mrs. H. More, they will readily bear testimony to the originality of humor and playfulness of imagination which enlivened the conversation and letters of this lady, Miss Sally More, who possessed also talents of another kind; some of the most valuable of the Cheap Repository Tracts being the productions of her pen. She was senior to Mrs. H. More by a very few years. The reader will doubtless peruse, with all due indulgence, the joyful effusions of an ardent and intelligent girl, who found herself suddenly introduced to the choicest society of the metropolis." — Vol. I. p. 37.

things. The old genius was extremely jocular, and the young one very pleasant.' " — Vol. I. p. 40.

Again, the same sister writes;

" 'If a wedding should take place before our return, don't be surprised, — between the mother of Sir Eldred and the father of my much-loved Irene; nay, Mrs. Montagu says, if tender words are the precursors of connubial engagements, we may expect great things; for it is nothing but "child," "little fool," "love," and "dearest." After much critical discourse, he turns round to me, and with one of his most amiable looks, which must be seen to form the least idea of it, he says, "I have heard that you are engaged in the useful and honorable employment of teaching young ladies," upon which, with all the same ease, familiarity, and confidence we should have done, had only our own dear Dr. Stonehouse been present, we entered upon the history of our birth, parentage, and education; showing how we were born with more desires than guineas; and how, as years increased our appetites, the cupboard at home began to grow too small to gratify them; and how, with a bottle of water, a bed, and a blanket, we set out to seek our fortunes; and how we found a great house, with nothing in it; and how it was like to remain so, till looking into our knowledge-boxes, we happened to find a little *larning*, a good thing when land is gone, or rather none; and so at last, by giving a little of this little *larning* to those who had less, we got a good store of gold in return; but how, alas! we wanted the wit to keep it. — "I love you both," cried the inamorato, — "I love you all five, — I never was at Bristol, — I will come on purpose to see you, — what! five women live happily together! — I will come and see you, — I have spent a happy evening, — I am glad I came, — God for ever bless you, you live lives to shame duchesses." He took his leave with so much warmth and tenderness, we were quite affected at his manner.' " — Vol. I. pp. 46, 47.

Of a little party Miss Hannah had invited to her own lodgings, she thus writes;

" 'Mrs. Garrick offered me all her fine things, but, as I hate admixtures of finery and meanness, I refused every thing except a little cream and a few sorts of cakes. They came at seven. The *dramatis personæ* were Mrs. Boscawen, Mrs. Garrick, and Miss Reynolds; my beaux were Dr. Johnson, Dean Tucker, and last, but not least in our love, David Garrick. You know that wherever Johnson is, the confinement to the tea-table is rather a durable situation; and it was an hour and a half before I got my enlargement. However, my ears were opened, though my tongue was locked, and they all stayed till near eleven.

"'Garrick was the very soul of the company, and I never saw Johnson in such perfect good-humor. Sally knows we have often heard that one can never properly enjoy the company of these two unless they are together. There is great truth in this remark; for after the Dean and Mrs. Boscawen (who were the only strangers) were withdrawn, and the rest stood up to go, Johnson and Garrick began a close encounter, telling old stories, "e'en from their boyish days" at Lichfield. We all stood round them above an hour, laughing, in defiance of every rule of decorum and Chesterfield. I believe we should not have thought of sitting down or of parting, had not an impertinent watchman been saucily vociferous. Johnson outstayed them all, and sat with me half an hour.'" — Vol. I. p. 48.

She thus speaks also of her manner of passing her time, as she did for months together, with her kind friends, the Garricks. Those who think of that extraordinary man only as an actor, are unjust to his character and private habits.

"'Mrs. Boscawen came to see me the other day with the duchess, in her gilt chariot, with four footmen (as I hear, for I happened not to be at home). It is not possible for any thing on earth to be more agreeable to my taste than my present manner of living. I am so much at my ease; have a great many hours at my own disposal, to read my own books and see my own friends; and, whenever I please, may join the most polished and delightful society in the world. Our breakfasts are little literary societies; there is generally company at meals, as they think it saves time, by avoiding the necessity of seeing people at other seasons. Mr. Garrick sets the highest value upon his *time* of anybody I ever knew. From dinner to tea we laugh, chat, and talk nonsense; the rest of his time is generally devoted to study. I detest and avoid public places more than ever, and should make a miserably bad fine lady. What most people come to London *for* would keep me *from* it.'" — Vol. I. p. 53.

Here is another example of considerate kindness, at a time when Miss More was indisposed at her own lodgings.

"'Mrs. Garrick came to me this morning, and wished me to go to the Adelphi, which I declined, being so ill. She would have gone herself to fetch me a physician, and insisted upon sending me my dinner, which I refused: but at six this evening, when Garrick came to the Turk's Head to dine, there accompanied him, in the coach, a minced chicken in the stew-pan, hot, a canister of her fine tea, and a pot of cream. Were there ever such people! Tell it not in Epic, or in Lyric, that the great Roscius rode with a stew-pan of minced meat with him in the coach for my dinner.

"Percy" is acted again this evening; do any of you choose to go? I can write you an order: for my own part, I shall enjoy a much superior pleasure, — that of sitting by the fire, in a great chair, and being denied to all company: what is *Percy* to this?'" — Vol. I. p. 82.

No wonder that, after the loss of so excellent a friend, she should write,

"'I can never cease to remember with affection and gratitude so warm, steady, and disinterested a friend; and I can most truly bear this testimony to his memory, that I never witnessed, in any family, more decorum, propriety, and regularity than in his: where I never saw a card, or even met (except in one instance) a person of his own profession at his table; of which Mrs. Garrick, by her elegance of taste, her correctness of manners, and very original turn of humor, was the brightest ornament. All his pursuits and tastes were so decidedly intellectual, that it made the society, and the conversation which was always to be found in his circle, interesting and delightful.'" — Vol. I. pp. 91, 92.

The next passage we select exhibits Johnson in a highly characteristic, and Boswell, though a guest in the house of a bishop, in no very creditable mood. The letter is dated from London, 1781.

"'Tuesday we were a small and very choice party at Bishop Shipley's. Lord and Lady Spencer, Lord and Lady Althorpe, Sir Joshua, Langton, Boswell, Gibbon, and, to my agreeable surprise, Dr. Johnson were there.

"'Mrs. Garrick and he had never met since her bereavement. I was heartily disgusted with Mr. Boswell, who came up stairs after dinner, much disordered with wine, and addressed me in a manner that drew from me a sharp rebuke, for which I fancy he will not easily forgive me. Johnson came to see us the next morning, and made us a long visit. On Mrs. Garrick's telling him she was always more at her ease with persons who had suffered the same loss with herself, he said that was a comfort she could seldom have, considering the superiority of his merit, and the cordiality of their union. He bore his strong testimony to the liberality of Garrick. He reproved me with pretended sharpness for reading "Les Pensées de Pascal," or any of the Port Royal authors, alleging that, as a good Protestant, I ought to abstain from books written by Catholics. I was beginning to stand upon my defence, when he took me with both hands, and with a tear running down his cheeks, "Child," said he, with the most affecting earnestness, "I am heartily glad that you read pious books, by whomsoever they may be written."'" — Vol. I. p. 124.

We have already mentioned Dr. Porteus, the Bishop of London, but first of Chester, as among her early and honored friends. He entertained the highest respect for her talents, and once and again suggested to her topics for her powerful pen. To such counsel she paid a filial deference. His letters, which are among the pleasantest in the volume, show the elegance of his taste not less than the cheerfulness and kindness of his temper. He was most exemplary in his devotion to the duties of his station; and of his popularity as a preacher, besides other well known testimonies, we notice incidentally the following; which we adduce chiefly for its connexion with a yet clearer testimony of the extravagance of one lady of fashion contrasted with some astonishing reverses in the condition of another.

"'*May* 29, 1783.

"'Did I tell you, that the Bishop of Chester's Sermons were out of print in eight days? I hope the age is not so bad as we took it to be: and yet it cannot be very good either, when the strawberries at Lady Stormont's breakfast last Saturday morning cost one hundred and fifty pounds,'"

i. e. nearly seven hundred dollars! The question might have been asked here with more grace than it was once asked of old, — "Why was not this sold for much and given to the poor?"

Now let our readers contrast this costly breakfast with what follows.

"'Did you hear of a woman of quality, an earl's daughter, perishing for want the other day near Cavendish-square? The sad story is, that she had married an attorney, a bad man, and had several children; they all frequently experienced the want of a morsel of bread. Lady Jane grew extremely ill, and faint with hunger. An old nurse, who had never forsaken her mistress in her misfortunes, procured by some means a sixpence; Lady Jane sent her out to buy a cow-heel; the nurse brought it in and carried a piece of it to her mistress; "No," said she, "I feel myself dying, — all relief is too late; and it would be cruel in me to rob the children of a morsel, by wasting it on one who must die," — so saying, she expired. I leave you to make your own comments on this domestic tragedy, in a metropolis drowned in luxury. What will Sally say to side-dishes and third courses now?'" — Vol. i. p. 159.

But the extravagance of Lady Stormont's breakfast, great as it was, seems to us not quite so objectionable as a rout,

which Miss More attended at the house of a Bishop, Dr. Shipley. We of New England, with our pristine notions of clerical, to say nothing of episcopal decorum, should be apt to regard such an assemblage better suited to the levee of a Prime Minister. And the old King himself in his capacity as Head of the Church thought so too. For it was a rout of the same sort, and about the same time, given by an Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Cornwallis), in the palace of Lambeth, or perhaps against his will by a fashionable wife, that drew from his Majesty a letter to his Grace, that may be handed down to future monarchs as their model for royal rebuke. Never was reproof at once so courteous and so severe.

"'On Monday I was at a very great assembly at the Bishop of St. Asaph's. Conceive to yourself one hundred and fifty or two hundred people met together, dressed in the extremity of the fashion; painted as red as bacchanals; poisoning the air with perfumes; treading on each other's gowns; making the crowd they blame; not one in ten able to get a chair; protesting they are engaged to ten other places, and lamenting the fatigue they are not obliged to endure; *ten or a dozen card-tables* crammed with dowagers of quality, grave ecclesiastics, and yellow admirals; and you have an idea of an assembly. I never go to these things when I can possibly avoid it, and stay, when there, as few minutes as I can.'" — Vol. I. pp. 141, 142.

And since, with our heroine, we have got up into kings' and bishops' palaces, we may introduce here an anecdote related with his characteristic simplicity by Bryant, the learned mythologist, a near neighbour at Windsor and special favorite of King George, who sometimes visited him in his own study. It is a ludicrous example of the self-consequence and pretension of even the youngest sprigs of royalty. "Mr. Bryant had been that morning to Windsor to present his great work. He was met in the ante-chamber by the youngest of the princes, then but a little boy, who begged to look at it. When it was put into his hands, he held it *upside down*, and glancing his eyes for a moment over the pages, returned it with an air of important graciousness, pronouncing it — excellent!"

The distinctions of birth and place, which, in a government like that of England, hold so large a place in the estimation of the multitude, and on some minds exert a power little short of fascination, could never bribe the judgment of Miss More, or even in her youth confound her exquisite moral perception. She was gratified, as she should have been, because it is

altogether natural to the ardent and generous mind, by the attentions of the great. But folly was still folly, and profligacy in its most refined forms lost to her view nothing of its vileness, because it was the profligacy of princes and nobles. She held in due respect the distinctions which every good subject and every wise citizen identifies with the order and well-being of society; and felt and expressed the deference which belongs to those, who from their birth or their station "are called gods." But she knew also, that they were "to die like men;" and the spectacle of their magnificence and glory never dazzled her youthful imagination, or tempted her to forget, — what it would be their own true happiness to remember, — that exalted privileges only involve the deeper obligations; and that the only enviable distinctions are the distinctions of virtue. Accordingly, not only in her books, some of which, as her "Thoughts on the Manners of the Great," were expressly written to illustrate these great truths, but in her most familiar intercourse with people of fashion, she exhibits the modesty always, but with it the independence and elevation of her mind. She could make due allowances for the customs of courts, for the perils of station, and for the inexorable demands which fashion, that unpitying despot, makes upon the humblest of its votaries. But to her judgment of character she applied the only true standard, the standard of Christian virtue; looking not to things that are seen, which she knew were only temporal, but to things that are eternal.

There is to our view nothing, in which her own excellent character appears to more advantage, than in the simplicity she retained in her own manners, and the faithfulness of her friendships to her humblest friends, after she became the object herself of such flattering notice. The reader will see how often, at this brilliant period of her fame, she declined a fashionable party, or hastened from a splendid dinner, that she might "take a sociable cup of tea," or pass an hour, tasting, with Hooker, "God's blessing, if not out of mother earth, yet in peace and privacy," with some worthy personage, who had perhaps never set foot in a drawing-room, and whose retirement she could cheer by her lively, — not wicked, — descriptions of the great folks and the gay scenes she was daily witnessing. We say not wicked, — for though she had a keen sense of the ridiculous, she was too generous to requite hospi-

tality with ridicule, or to indulge in a joke at the expense of her humanity.* She regarded the absent who are out of hearing, as virtually under the protection of that law of Jewish charity, "Thou shalt not curse the deaf." And we may not omit affectionately to commend her example to the imitation of some others of her sex, with whom, however, it must be confessed, such self-denial must be the less meritorious, as theirs may possibly be found some inferior measure of wit.

One of Mrs. More's chief gratifications was in intellectual and literary society, with or without the embellishments of rank. She delighted in persons of whatever station, whose gifts or virtues, whose genius, piety, or philanthropy, commanded her respect, and placed them with the excellent of the earth. And of this, the most desirable because the most improving of all intercourse, she enjoyed through life as large a share as perhaps ever fell to the lot of any female. It were an endless task to recount the names, — we have mentioned hitherto but a few, — of the great and of the good, with whom she was on the pleasantest terms possible. It is delightful to mark the sportiveness with which no less a personage, for example, than Bishop Lowth could write Latin verses in honor of "his youthful sister-poet," as he called her; nor, though he had passed his seventieth year, did his muse, prompted by so inspiring a theme, want her accustomed elegance.† Dr. Porteus, his successor in the see,

* "Miss More," says her biographer, "was once prevailed upon to write a criticism in the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' upon an absurd tragedy, offered by a lady to her friend Garrick for the theatre, and by him rejected. The criticism was executed with great spirit and effect. But finding, as she declared, so much pleasure in the free indulgence of her sarcastic humor, she resolved never again to trust herself with the use of such a weapon; and to this resolution she strictly adhered through the remainder of her life."

The same authoress, whose play was thus assailed, had repeatedly desired Dr. Johnson to look over it before it was acted, who always found means to evade it. At last, she pressed him so closely, that he positively refused, advising her to correct it herself. "But, Sir," said she, "I have no time. I have already so many irons in the fire." "Why, then, Madam," said he, quite out of patience, "the best thing I can advise you to do is, put your tragedy along with your irons."

† These lines of Bishop Lowth, which at the time and in the manner, in which they were presented, attracted no little attention, copies of them being eagerly sought and multiplied, were inscribed

"Hannæ Moræ,
Virgini piæ, eruditæ, eleganti, ingenio, facundiâ, et sapientiâ pariter illustri."

and in his esteem for Miss More, wrote her some letters, which show that he too could be playful as a child; and when the "very Venerable" Dean Tucker, who is quoted by Lord Mansfield as "a writer of the first class for sagacity and knowledge," but who, if his portraits do him no wrong, was one of the plainest of the sons of men, took to himself a wife, being then turned of sixty-nine, he thus announces his felicity to this general favorite of the grave and the gay.

"To Miss More.

"'*Gloucester, Feb.* 3, 1781.

"'My dear Miss,

"'I have very *literally* taken an help *meet for me.* She has all the useful qualifications, but none of the *brilliant.* And though it is impossible to say what alterations time may produce, yet I think I ought to acknowledge that the present prospect is very promising, and that we bid fair for putting in a claim for a rasher or two, if not for the whole flitch of bacon. My reasons are the following:— Our tempers and dispositions, our pleasures, or pursuits, can hardly ever be brought to clash with each other. I reign sole monarch, or fancy I reign, throughout the boundless regions of politics or metaphysics; while my queen acts the majestic part very well in the lesser domains of common sense and common life. Whether these two empires may be so far extended as to approach each other, whereby we may hereafter complain of mutual encroachments, and quarrel about the limits, is more than I am able to foretell. But I think the probability is on the other side; because I do not feel a spark of ambition to invade her province, and she has too much sang froid on her part to be capable of being worked up either into a metaphysical or political ferment. She is a mere *Hickman* in petticoats, the very counterpart of the insipid *he*-thing which you once said was fit for nothing but to take care of the bandboxes on a journey, and to keep your reckoning. She is fond of this employment, and seems to be so well calculated for keeping the reckoning throughout the journey of life, that I have ventured to borrow fifty pounds from our common fund (which I think at the end of the year will not be missed), in order to make a provision for the support of our young philosopher at Oxford.' *" — Vol. I. p. 115.

To the long list of octogenarians, whom our author had the happiness of numbering among her most agreeable friends, were Soame Jenyns, author of the "Internal Evidences,"

"* The eccentric but highly-gifted John Henderson."

"Essays," &c., and his truly congenial wife. She thus speaks of meeting them in a large party at Dr. Porteus's in 1784.

"'Mr. and Mrs. Soame Jenyns, gay, gallant, and young as ever, are really delectable to behold, so fond of each other, and so free from characteristic infirmities: I do not know such another pair. I think they make up between them about a hundred and sixty-five years. There is this peculiarity in Mr. Jenyns's character, that though he has the worst opinion of human nature, he has the greatest kindness for the individuals who compose it; and such a conformity in his temper to every thing and every body in common things, that he seems equally pleased in societies the most opposite. Whatever skepticism he might once have been charged with, I believe him now to be a real believer. The doubts entertained by some persons of his sincerity appear in his late work on the "Internal Evidence of Christianity" to be quite unfounded. I think him very sincere; but not having been long acquainted with the doctrines of revelation, the novelty of them has excited his love of paradox.'" — Vol. I. pp. 177, 178.

And though the incident that follows, is separated by a long interval in the "Memoirs," our readers will not complain of our adding it here to the preceding.

"In speaking of Soame Jenyns, she gave an anecdote descriptive of his extraordinary easiness of temper and careless good-humor. A friend who called upon him one morning was pressed by him to take a slice of cold meat, but the servant on being rung for, informed his master that there was not a morsel in his larder. When he had left the room, Mr. Jenyns turned to his friend and said, 'Now we had a large round of beef dressed yesterday; this is therefore rather unaccountable. But I expect these things; and that I may not be subject to lose my temper, I set down £300 a year to losses by lying and cheating, and thus I maintain my composure.'"

It is at least questionable, how far a conscientious master is at liberty to purchase even at this costly rate his personal quiet, by conniving at the faults of his servants. Whatever he may be willing to lose of his substance for the sake of his peace, he is still charged in some measure with the morals of his household. And if the commandment be, "Thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy *neighbour* and not suffer sin upon him," much more would it seem binding in relation to a *domestic*, whose integrity, not less than our own property, we ought to protect. It is always troublesome, and sometimes it may be

a vexatious duty, yet not for that reason less peremptory, "to look well to the ways of the household." And who will not see, that we may tempt a servant to dishonesty as much by the excess of our negligence or good nature, as of our severity or ungenerous distrust.

Mrs. More herself, as is abundantly shown in the sequel of these Memoirs, was a victim, to almost an incredible degree, of this amiable, it may be called, but most unwise indulgence. Her servants, of whom in her old age she had not less than eight, abused to such an extent her kindness, and the opportunities afforded them by her frequent absences from home, as well as by her long confinements to her chamber, that, had it not been for the timely discovery and strenuous interposition of her friends, she had probably been ruined by their profligate extravagance. It would seem as if the greatest disorders had been perpetrated in her house, till at length, attached as she was to Barley Wood, she was compelled, as her only remedy, to quit it for ever. But as this mournful passage in her domestic history belongs to a period of her life, full half a century in advance of that, to which we have as yet arrived; and as we can see no prospect of our reaching it in this already extended article, we must refer our readers to Mr. Roberts himself for the full relation; assuring them that in no part of his work will they find better reason to be satisfied with his honest and sensible reflections.

To those, who read chiefly for amusement, and perhaps to some of a graver class, who may differ from Mrs. More in any of the religious speculations or schemes of benevolence, to which she was afterwards with so singular success devoted, this portion of her history, abounding, as it does, in literary anecdote, and embracing her longest, if not her pleasantest visits to London, will be found the most interesting. To one of a less balanced mind, or less firmly established principle, this would have been a dangerous, but to herself it was probably the most useful period of her life. She was gathering largely for future benefit. She was laying up materials, various and costly, which in her retirement she so skilfully set in order for the instruction and improvement of the world. Some of her best and some of her latest productions are the results of the keen observation, the just discernment, with which and her uncorrupted taste she eyed even from her youth the various scene before her. She was thus qualified to estimate

fairly "the Religion of the Fashionable World," of which for a season she was a part; to delineate what she had herself seen, both in their refinement and their grossness, their dignity and their superlative meanness, "the Manners of the Great"; and even to offer "Hints," which were well accepted by the exalted personages to whom they were addressed, "towards forming the Character of a Young Princess." * And it is truly extraordinary, — we cannot but revert to it as one of the most honorable testimonies to her fine character, marking the strength of her principles, and yet the gentleness of her spirit, that throughout this brilliant period of her days, while she was thoroughly faithful to herself, she never seems to have given offence to others. She acted out uniformly her own principles; maintaining modestly, but decidedly on all proper occasions, her own convictions. She invariably refused invitations for Sunday; "she never touched a card;" her wit was always at her disposal to repress impertinence; she could answer a fool according to his folly, so that she was quite sure of his not answering again; she could rebuke Boswell in his cups so that he was fain to sneak home; and the utmost ill-will, so far at least as appears from her Memoirs, that she incurred even with those to whom her example would seem the severest reproof was, that Garrick, who generally called her his "dear Nine," sometimes rallied her as his "Young Christian," or as of "the Sunday sect," loving her the better for it all the time, and that Horace Walpole, who in his old age presented her with a splended edition of the Bible, in which he had written an inscription strongly expressive of his affection and respect, and who in his last sickness sent her a message, that he was sorry he had ever joked about her religion, in one of the best letters that ingenious trifler ever indited, uses this compellation, "My dearest saint Hannah."

But, we must observe, this her felicity in avoiding offence and preserving good-will, notwithstanding her independence, was confined to the immediate circle of her friends. Beyond this, where her personal excellence could not be appreciated, or obtain for her the partiality of friendship, not her writings merely, or her measures, but her manners and her motives were freely censured. By the exclusive of her own

* Titles, as our readers know, of some of her most admired works.

church, who have no dealings with Dissenters, and no pleasure in those who have, — she was called a Methodist; while by the worldly of all parties, with whom seriousness is *cant*, she was ridiculed as a fanatic; and "pious Hannah," with a sneer, was no unusual designation. Some of her productions, especially her religious novel, "Cœlebs in Search of a Wife," were severely criticized in the "Edinburgh Review," * and in other less able but equally hostile journals.

It was chiefly, however, in her management of Sunday schools, which with the efficient aid of her sister Martha, she established and for a series of years maintained in the villages around Bristol, that it was her lot, as has been the lot of other zealous philanthropists, to encounter, not prejudice only and indifference, but in one instance, at least, the most inveterate hostility. For the details of this singular persecution, — as such her biographer terms it, — we must refer our readers to the Memoirs themselves (Vol. II. pp. 62–80), which will also exhibit in their true light the patience, gentleness, and benevolence with which by both herself and her sister Martha it was sustained. It must suffice for us to say, that it originated in the wayward temper of a hot-headed Welshman, of the name of *Bere*. This personage was the curate of Blagdon, the parish in which Cowslip Green, Mrs. More's residence, was situated. He seems to have run well for a season, but something hindered, which it were even charity to ascribe to some copious potations of that muddy beverage denoted by his name. He began with earnestly inviting the two sisters to extend their charitable labors to the children of his large parish, notorious at that time for its ignorance and profligacy; †

* The notice of this popular novel, more than *thirty large editions* of which have been published in our own country, is exceedingly severe. The writer, seemingly of that class whose religious faith is but imperfectly developed, begins with an apology to his readers for daring to treat any book of "the celebrated Mrs. Hannah More" as a merely human or uninspired production, and ends with cautioning them against "the trash and folly of Methodism."

The same journal, which about this period seems to have been engaged in a bloody crusade against zeal of all sorts, comments also with great harshness upon her "Hints towards Forming the Character of a Young Princess"; assuming what was only for a short time supposed, that the anonymous author was a man, evidently for the sake of more liberty in handling him.

† Of this ignorance Mrs. More relates an instance, in a little boy, who, on her inquiring of him, "Who was Abraham?" answered, after

and ended with the grossest calumnies and ill-treatment of them both. Nor was this extraordinary conduct his alone. Charges of sedition and fanaticism, of disaffection to the church, of endeavouring to corrupt the children by teaching French principles, and even of getting them into her power *to sell them as slaves*,* were widely circulated against her. She was annoyed by anonymous letters. A scandalous pamphlet was published, the author of which she was advised by the Lord Chancellor Loughborough to prosecute. But this she refused from her dread of litigation; and it was not till after three years, during which (amidst serious sicknesses, the effect of her anxiety) "this persecution was carried on with unabated virulence," and she had appealed to her bishop, Dr. Beadon of Bath and Wells, in a letter of singular dignity and power, that the torrent was stayed. Her infamous persecutor died under general contempt some years after. But from her letters at this painful crisis, it may be seen how serious and extensive was the mischief he had occasioned. Even her best friends, of whom was Bishop Porteus, were not without their alarms; and the result was by no means so satisfactory, as from the justice of her cause might have been expected.

"To Mr. Wilberforce.†

"'*Cowslip Green*, 1801.

"'MY DEAR FRIEND,

"'Though I knew that B—— and his adherents had spread abroad the most flagitious reports respecting my political and religious principles, yet I own I was inexpressibly shocked the other night at Patty's receiving from the Bishop of London a most am-

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some hesitation, that "*he believed Abraham was an Exeter man.*" The boy himself was of Somersetshire.

* This, it may be noted, was in the neighbourhood of Bristol, where as in Liverpool, the slave-trade was at that time a common traffic. A circumstance which may account for the absurd nature of the charge.

† Our readers who have associated with the name of this excellent man the idea of venerable age, or have heard of him only since the meridian of his fame, will be gratified by the following reference to him in the beginning of his strength. — Writing to Mrs. Carter, in 1787, Mrs. More says, "'I have much at heart the project to abolish the Slave Trade in Africa. The *young gentleman*, who has embarked in it with the zeal of an apostle has been much with me, and engaged all my little interest in it.'" — Vol. I. p. 266.

biguous and alarming note, expressing the utmost terror on my account, yet refusing to explain himself; saying if what was reported were true, she would understand what he meant. All we can collect from this obscure giving-out, what out of tenderness he seems to have half concealed, is, that this *mock* trial has been fabricated by B——'s emissaries into an *official* one, and that I am found guilty of sedition, and taken up and sent to prison.'" — Vol. II. pp. 77, 78.

Again, writing to the same;

"'*Priory, Monday*, 1801.

"'My dear Sir,

"'The farmers at Wedmore have formally presented me at the archdeacon's visitation last week for teaching the poor without a license. They say they will never rest till they have worried me out of the parish; and as they have employed an attorney of bad character, they will, I fear, be able to give me a good deal of trouble.'"

"'Poor Patty [her sister Martha], in bad health herself, — fights manfully, and combats well with those domestic sorrows. She is holding our annual club-feasts, and feasting six or seven hundred each day with outward cheerfulness. It puts me in mind of poor actors, who play their comic parts gayly on the stage, when, perhaps, they have all sorts of miseries at home.'" — Vol. II. p. 80.

Of the absurdity of the charges thus brought against this excellent woman, distinguished through her long life for her loyalty, attachment to civil order, and to the church, of which she was an exemplary member, it were idle to waste a syllable in proof. In general, Mrs. More was characterized by prudence and gentleness. How far her benevolence or her zeal may have tempted her in the management of her Sunday Schools, her favorite charity, to disregard persons and circumstances, we have no means to determine. She might have *occasioned*, but it was certainly not in her temper to *provoke*, hostility. And very possible it is, that to her virtues, which were preëminent, she united the faults which are common to successful philanthropists, namely, an extravagant estimate, growing out of a fervid enthusiasm, of the object to which they are exclusively devoted, coupled with a corresponding estimate of their own gifts, destiny, and influence to accomplish them. Or if, — which is very rare, — their humility represses the vanity, to which the foolish flattery of admirers or of their young disciples in philanthropy so strongly tempts them, there will still be found some fond partiality to the particular

theory or measures they have themselves adopted, which beginning with excess hastens to be blind, and seldom fails to end in obstinacy. Such are the common errors of philanthropists. They were those of Hanway, who would never hear a word against what he once resolved, — witness his unauthorized use of the name of Mary Magdalene to designate his houses of refuge for penitent women, against the learned and earnest remonstrances of Dr. Lardner.* They were the faults of Howard; and have been, and therefore probably will be, those of other imperfect good men. Who, then, shall say, that Hannah More was altogether free from these? When we consider the praise, — that sovereign remedy of humility, — that was poured upon her from such various and distant sources, — from the king on his throne, who more than once sent her his gracious approbation, and from the bishops, who conveyed it, — to colliers in their mines and the children of colliers in her sunday schools; from Doctors and "Heads of Houses," who praised her books, to the factory people, who were charmed into loyalty by her "Ballads"; from noblemen and landed proprietors fearing a rebellion, to their tenants reformed and kept quiet by her "Tracts"; † — who could

* See Lardner's letter to Sir Jonas Hanway.

† The popularity and effect of Mrs. More's Ballads and Tracts were quite unprecedented. Indeed, among all her eminent gifts, none truly was more remarkable than her tact in amusing and setting right the people. Whatever she attempted in this way she always accomplished. A formidable riot among the colliers near Bath, the whole plan of which had been thoroughly settled, was prevented by her ballad of "The Riot." Her "Village Politics, by Will Chip," which she composed in a few hours, had an immediate and almost incredible influence in repressing a spirit of discontent and rebellion, which was common throughout England at the time of the revolutionary excesses in France. In London alone, many hundred thousand copies were circulated. Numerous patriotic individuals and societies printed large editions of them at their own expense, and they were sent by government to every part of the kingdom. Of her "Cheap Repository Tracts," a well-known monthly publication, to which her sister also contributed many excellent pieces, no less than *two millions* were sold in the first year; and Dr. Porteus in a charge to the clergy of his diocese in 1795, recommending her books as suitable for distribution, says, "They have contributed very essentially to counteract the poison of infidelity," &c. And a nobleman, one of the largest landholders in the kingdom, addressed to Mrs. More a letter of thanks for the good influence of yet another of her Tracts, in actually suppressing a disturbance, which had begun among his tenants. — *Memoirs*, Vol. I. p. 420.

expect that she should always be perfect, or that in a long series of labors, taxing severely her patience and self-denial, she should never betray infirmities, which, meeting with the greater infirmities and poorer virtues of others, might be the occasion of opposition.

With the religious opinions of Mrs. More we have not the slightest wish or intention to enter into controversy. These were doubtless the pretext for part of the hostility she experienced. Yet without just reason. She was born a member of the church of England, and to that church she cherished through life a filial attachment. But her orthodoxy was ever united to charity. Her preference of her own religion did not require her to hate that of others. She delighted in the "excellent" of every name, and for the characters of some distinguished Dissenters she entertained a high respect, sometimes attending their chapels, particularly Mr. Jay's of Bath, and coöperating in some of their charities. And though unquestionably, in certain of her religious works, we are constrained to approve more her seriousness of spirit and earnestness to do good, than the exactness of her theology; nay, though as Unitarians we should dissent strongly from some of her positions, nor suffer a less gentle or less venerable antagonist to escape unrebuked,* — they still leave us much to admire. And we can say to any young friend asking of her writings, what Johnson, in a passage already quoted, said to herself, defending a devotional book of Pascal, "Child, I am heartily glad that you read pious books, by whomsoever they are written."

And who, we ask, may not cherish a charity like this, if he will but reflect, that to the devout of every name there is one "spirit of faith" to unite them all? That the principles and strength of a true piety are to be found, not in what is peculiar to some, but what is common to most. For ourselves we rejoice

* From other hands, so disposed, she may receive, as she merits, a rebuke for her unfair judgment of Dr. Price and Mrs. Barbauld, as well as of some other distinguished Unitarians. But for ourselves, — happening at this present to have our charity in full flow for the lady, — we are willing to consider for her apology "*what company she kept.*" And we beg our readers also to consider how difficult it must be for one like Mrs. More, whose talk and correspondence were with bishops and earls and prime ministers, to look with complacency upon Unitarians, who are, and always have been, the determined friends of liberty both in church and in state.

in the confidence, that amidst endless diversities of speculation, there is for all the practical purposes of religion, for all that creates or sustains the "life of God in the soul of man," one Lord, one faith, one everlasting hope. And looking only to the large catalogue of the honored and the good, whose names appear in these Memoirs, united amidst wide diversities of tastes and habits, opinions and character, station and fame, in friendship for a common object and in respect for each other, how cheering is it to believe, that their friendships are to be renewed and their minds made one in that higher fellowship of truth and love, for which these very diversities were among the means to prepare them! It is a solemn reflection, suggested by the instructive volumes we have been perusing, and impressed more deeply by the closing year at which we are writing, that of all this numerous assemblage scarcely an individual remains. Of the elder school, the guides and patrons of Miss More's youth, Johnson, Lowth, and Mrs. Montagu, every one has long since departed. Of the later, among whom were Porteus and Wilberforce, Pepys and Barrington,* Mrs. More was herself for years the sole survivor. Others have succeeded to the places which they filled, and, in instances not a few, others still have succeeded to them. In our admiration of the virtuous and exemplary lives of many of these, far surpassing that of the honors they attained, we are not studious to inquire to what communion they belonged, or in what earthly temples, whether chapel or cathedral, they

* Dr. Porteus died in 1809, in his 78th year, and his see has been since thrice successively filled. Sir William Pepys and Dr. Barrington were the last of her ancient friends. They both died in 1825, full of years and of goodness. With the former she maintained an affectionate and spirited correspondence for nearly half a century; and from the good Bishop, whose uniform kindness and that of his lady she long experienced, "she received more than one friendly note, written with his own hand, not many months before his decease, at the age of *ninety-one.*"

Here we may observe, that many of the letters of Mrs. More's correspondents are as lively and agreeable as her own. There are some others which the compiler might have omitted without detriment to his book. Of these are the epistles, long and labored, of the good Rev. John Newton, which, under certain technical phraseology and show of humility, betray what we suspect belonged to the man, whether as slave-dealer when a youth in Africa, or "Rector in his old age of St. Mary, Woolnoth," — self-complacency, egotism, and the gift in no ordinary measure of being dull.

worshipped. For we believe, and no man may take from us our faith, that they will be found together with the good of all climes in a temple of which God himself, their common Father, is the light, and in a friendship and service that shall be eternal. Wesley and Watts have both copied the same sentiment from an apostle, and though sufficiently familiar to our readers, it expresses so well the beautiful instruction to be drawn from this work, that we shall need no apology for borrowing it from them.

"The saints on earth and those above
But one communion make;
Joined to their Lord in bonds of love,
All of his grace partake.

"One army of the living God,
To his command we bow;
Part of the host have crossed the flood,
And part are crossing now."

But in these passing remarks on the religious views of Mrs. More, as developed towards the conclusion of her Memoirs, we have gotten far in advance of the orderly succession of events. And to those who look in every biographical notice for a regular series of dates from birth to death, from childhood and maturity to old age, we shall have but imperfectly fulfilled our office, unless we hasten back to gather up a few at least of the prominent facts, which we have suffered to escape in our wanderings by the way.

At our last regular date, then, we left Mrs. More in 1785, that is, in the fortieth year of her life, closing one of her long annual visits to London, and preparing to execute a plan she had been for some time forming, of gradually withdrawing herself from general society, and devoting herself in retirement to pursuits, that were even in her youth more congenial to her taste and principles. This determination does not appear, as her biographer and others intimate, to have been the result of any sudden or signal change in her views of religion or duty; but simply the accomplishment of what amidst the most brilliant attractions of fashionable society, she had decidedly preferred. A little after this period, namely, in 1789, her sisters, also, found themselves able by their prudence, assiduity, and success to retire from their task of education, with great credit and in affluent circumstances. Previously to taking this step, they had built for themselves a house in Bath; and between

this as their winter residence, and a pleasant little summer retreat, near Bristol, called "Cowslip Green," also purchased with the joint fruits, as we infer, of their school and of Hannah's publications, they divided their time (Mrs. More still continuing, though much abridging, her visits to London), till 1802, when they all removed together to "Barley Wood," a more commodious residence, situated in a very healthful and picturesque spot, almost in the vicinity of Bristol. To this they became so much attached, that they soon afterwards parted with their property in Bath, and made it their only home.

Here, in this well-known and constantly visited retreat, from which so many of the letters and writings of its celebrated occupant are henceforth dated, the happiness of the sisterhood was interrupted by the death, in 1813, of Mary, the eldest, who had been even as a mother to Hannah, the instructress of her childhood,* and afterwards the delighted witness of the virtues and splendid reputation of her maturer years. In 1816 they lost their sister Elizabeth, and this affliction was followed in 1817 by one equally severe, in the death of Sarah, the next in age, whose vivacity and innocent wit, with a most amiable temper, made her the life and charm of their domestic circle. But in 1819, Hannah was called to a still heavier sorrow by the death, after an illness of only four days, of "her best beloved and sole surviving sister," Mrs. Martha More, nearest to herself in age, probably, therefore, as is common to brothers and sisters thus connected, her early confidant and friend, as she certainly was the cheerful and zealous partner of her charitable labors, her intelligent assistant, if not the head, in the sunday-schools, her tender nurse in sickness, and the inseparable companion of her healthful hours. These sad bereavements were aggravated by her own severe sicknesses, which were in several instances protracted and alarming. During the greater part of the year 1820, she was confined to her chamber, and was often afterwards a sufferer from acute bodily pains. But amidst all her trials she was faithful to her principles, and maintained with great beauty and consistency

* As will be remembered, Hannah became the pupil of her eldest sister at the first opening of the school in 1757. The seminary appears to have been conducted exclusively by the older sisters, Hannah never taking part in the instruction. She was in London visiting; and they were in Bristol teaching.

the filial submission, which in her "Practical Piety" she has so well inculcated.

From this period, Mrs. More was the solitary survivor (for she seems to have had no near family connexion), — but by no means the solitary inmate of her house. Barley Wood was still the resort of numberless visitors, intimate friends, and entire strangers, anxious to see or to be seen of this eminent lady. The number is almost incredible of the guests of various pretensions and rank, — some of the highest distinction, among whom were two Persian noblemen, others like many travellers from our own country, of which great was the company, attracted by her fame, and bearing recommendations from her friends, — who were courteously received, and, as long as her health permitted, pleasantly entertained, all with the fruit of her lips, her instructive and animating conversation, and many with the fruit of her table, breakfast, luncheon, or dinner, as the hour of coming or other circumstances offered. "What do you think," she writes, in 1819, to Sir W. Pepys, "of my entertaining one hundred and twenty gentlemen and ladies at dinner last week, and about two hundred at tea? The superior part of the company, which attended a Bible meeting in our village, adjourned afterwards by my invitation to Barley Wood." This surely was an enterprise of no common moment; such as few ladies, married or single, even with the hope of thereby entertaining angels, would have ventured. But with her, hospitality was a favorite virtue. Her domestic establishment, including not less than eight servants, of whom, as she found to her cost, were a coachman and a gardener, — was on a scale of simple, tasteful elegance, which her success as an author enabled her without carefulness to sustain. Nor was she at all averse to the variety and excitement which such society furnished her; and from a vanity as natural as it was pardonable, of which most others would have betrayed more with much less merit for its apology, she seems to have encouraged this flattering resort of visitors, even when in the opinion of her friends her infirmities would have justified or perhaps prescribed retirement. "It must be confessed," says her biographer, cautiously adverting to this delicate subject, "that as her valuable life drew towards its end, her mind partook more and more of the general decay, and that for some time previous to her departure she was unfit, *though unconscious of her unfitness*, to

receive the visits of homage, respect, or curiosity, which continued to flow in upon her. But her philanthropy, which she had always indulged to an extent bordering on excess, made it an uneasy effort for her to refuse admittance to any visitor; and however expedient on many obvious grounds it was to spare her these excitements, this comparative seclusion was not so agreeable to herself as it was satisfactory to others."

Clifton was the last earthly residence of this honored and lamented lady. Her removal thither from Barley Wood, in 1828, under the vexatious domestic troubles to which we have sufficiently adverted, may be considered as the close of her active and intellectual life. From this period till her death, a space of more than five years, her health was never otherwise than in a very precarious state, and she was seldom free from pain. But to the very last her eye was not dim. She could read with ease and without spectacles the smallest print. Her hearing too was almost unimpaired; and, as a constant attendant observed, "until very near the close of life her features were not shrunk, nor wrinkled, nor uncomely, and her person retained to a considerable degree its wonted appearance, as at a much earlier period." It must also have been a high gratification to her friends, that, amidst the undeniable decay of her vigorous mind, the kindness of her affections, the sweetness of her temper, her considerate and active charity suffered no diminution or abatement. The arrangements of her will were in perfect consistency with the well-known benevolence of her life. Almost the whole of her property, amounting to about £30,000 or nearly $140,000, she bequeathed to various religious and other charities; among which those of Bristol, in the neighbourhood of which she lived, where her sisters had early found in their school distinguished patronage, and of the best society of which they were themselves a part, were specially remembered. She died on the 7th of September, 1833, in the eighty-eighth year of her age.

As we have no opportunities of judging of the character of this admirable woman, which are not equally possessed by our readers, — her works and her Memoirs, — any eulogium we might offer, after the facts we have exhibited, however just, might be deemed superfluous. We prefer to leave with them the testimony of a faithfully attached and long valued friend; of one who saw Mrs. More, not as the world sees its followers

in their brightness and show, but as a trusted physician sees his patient, in the sick chamber, amidst weakness, and dejection, and pain.

"It has been my fortune," writes Dr. Carrick, in a highly interesting letter relating the circumstances of her last illness and death, "during a long and close intercourse with mankind, to have enjoyed many and valuable opportunities of observing and studying the human character under various and trying circumstances. But never, I can say with truth, have I known a character in all respects so perfect as that of Mrs. Hannah More."

ART. II. — *Proceedings of the Convention of the Young Men of Massachusetts, friendly to the Cause of Temperance, held at Worcester, July 1st and 2d,* 1834. Boston. Ford & Damrell. 1834. 8vo. pp. 28.

IN contemplating the great temperance reform, no circumstance strikes us as more auspicious of its successful progress and final triumph, than the deep and active interest in it which is manifested by our *young men.*

While those of maturer years are rapidly passing off the stage, and their errors, prejudices, and vices along with them, — the young, on the other hand, are coming forward into notice and influence, and more and more diffusing, in a thousand channels, through the living mass of society, those new truths and new virtues, in which they have improved upon a former generation.

The conspicuous part taken by young men in the temperance reform derives additional interest from the consideration, that this reform may be thought to call for peculiar self-denial in them, — a sacrifice of those very indulgences, to which youth is most prone, and for which the animal warmth, love of excitement, and passion for social pleasure, so characteristic of that season of life, furnish at least some apology and extenuation.

We venture to remark further, — presumptuous as the assertion may seem, — that young men are more likely to take sound and correct views of the temperance cause, — the prin-

ciples upon which it rests, and the measures for promoting it, — than those who are more advanced in life. The latter have grown up from childhood amidst the universal prevalence, and in the personal practice, of that habit, at which the temperance reform strikes its unsparing, destroying blow. To them, the doctrine of total abstinence, — the first elementary principle of that reform, — must originally have seemed extravagant and impracticable, because wise and good men, of their own and former times, have not only failed to discover, but uniformly in conduct contradicted and violated it. No short time, no slight effort, is required to root out from the mind old prejudices and habits of thought. Even with a clear perception of the evil to be remedied, and an earnest desire to apply the remedy, these will ever insensibly blend, and embarrass the onward movement of reform by doubts and fears and suspicions which belong to an age gone by. Young men, on the contrary, look forth upon the world with eyes upon which the half-dispersed mists of error have left no dimness. If new principles have taken the place of old ones in society, their minds require no illumination to appreciate and go along with the change. They, without an effort, see things as they are, not as they have been; and, when still new measures of improvement are proposed, "forgetting the things which are behind, press towards the mark" of perfect and enduring regeneration.

These remarks have been suggested by the pamphlet whose title stands at the head of this article. It is an account of the proceedings of a convention of young men, held at Worcester on the 1st and 2d days of July last, to devise measures for advancing the temperance reformation. Previous conventions had been held for the same object in this and other states. The convention of young men is deserving of particular notice, chiefly on account of the new topics, connected with the great general subject, but heretofore only slightly and incidentally noticed, which were brought up for discussion, and almost exclusively occupied the attention of the meeting. These were, first, the subject of legislation in regard to the sale of ardent spirit, and, secondly, the use of wine. We shall confine ourselves in what follows to the first of these questions. Upon this, the following resolutions were proposed, and unanimously adopted.

"Resolved, that, in regard to the business of retailing, there is an inconsistency in our system of legislation, unworthy of the

spirit and intelligence of the day; for, while we require the maintenance of schools to promote knowledge and virtue, we license schools of profligacy and vice: while we build prisons and forbid crimes, we license that which fills the one and promotes the other, — we legalize the cause and punish the effect. And, professing to be a Christian people, we receive into our treasury the price for which we license the surest means of shutting heaven against our fellow-beings.

"Resolved, that, as the traffic in ardent spirits as a drink is morally wrong, it ought to be neither licensed nor tolerated by law. Resolved, therefore, that the existing license laws of this Commonwealth ought to be repealed, and in their place other statutes be enacted, which shall make the sale of ardent spirits a penal offence.

"Resolved, that the members of this Convention will do all in their power by judicious and constitutional means to produce the desired reform in the laws of this Commonwealth." — p. 10.

With the spirit of these resolutions we heartily concur. At the same time we know, that they will encounter severe censure, even from many of the friends of temperance. They will be pronounced wrong in principle; or, if not wrong, yet precipitate and unseasonable. There are certain great truths connected with the temperance reform, which, after years of persevering effort to demonstrate and diffuse them, have at length become clear as the light and firm as the "everlasting hills." That drunkenness produces poverty, disease, and crime to an enormous amount, — that moderate drinking naturally leads the way to drunkenness, — that ardent spirits are never useful to men in health, — that the sale of ardent spirits is morally wrong, — these are principles which, at this day, no reasonable man, even though opposed to temperance measures, pretends with any show of argument to deny. With the principles embodied in the foregoing resolutions, it is far otherwise. In regard to the latter, not only do that clamorous multitude, who cry out against all that is good and praiseworthy, raise the alarm of persecution and oppression; but even those, who join heart and hand for the advancement of temperance, differ from each other *toto cœlo* in their opinions. For proof of this, we need only refer to the proceedings of our state legislature at their last session. We have too much charity for individuals, and too much respect for that ancient and honorable Commonwealth whose representatives they are, to question the sincerity of those members of the government, who profess to feel con-

scientious scruples with regard to any interference of the law for the suppression of intemperance. Some of them, no doubt, are actuated by the worst motives, and do but publish in the halls of legislation, with the sanction of official influence, those radical and disorganizing political doctrines, and that malignant hostility to all Christian enterprises, which it is their favorite pastime in private life to propagate and enforce. Such, however, we would fain believe to be as few in number and as feeble in influence as they are destitute of principle, — and to all of a different stamp we would address ourselves upon this subject with earnest, but calm and serious argument. There is a new point to be gained in the great and holy cause of temperance; and, like others now immovably established, but which ten years ago would have been laughed to scorn at the bare suggestion of them, it deserves to be gained by fair reasoning and by answering all honest objections.

The current and popular objections to legislating for the suppression of intemperance are these four, — that it is impracticable or useless, that it is inexpedient, that it is wrong, that it is unnecessary.

I. Upon the question of *practicability*, the favorite argument is that derived from past experience. We hear it said on all sides, that the experiment of *legislating down* intemperance has already been tried, and has failed; that, long before a temperance society was ever thought of, laws were enacted in restraint of drunkenness, and numerous prosecutions instituted for the breach of them. Yet the evil went on increasing; and it was the palpable, glaring truth, that government had done nothing, and could do nothing effectually, for the cure of this raging pestilence, which first suggested to humane and patriotic individuals the idea of starting anew in the work of reform by the institution of voluntary associations.

This statement is perfectly true, nobody can deny it; but at the same time carries in itself its own answer. *Because* legislation was resorted to before temperance societies were formed; because positive restrictions, — even admitting the licensing system to be in any fair sense restrictive and looking only at its penal provisions, — were thrown in the face of universal opinion and universal practice; *therefore*, not the slightest good effects were produced. Stupidity itself cannot fail to discern the true meaning and object of the license laws. The legislature had a sort of vague and floating impression, that, although rum was one

of the necessaries of life, and rum-drinking an instinct of nature, the temperate indulgence of which their enactments should rather encourage than check; yet a regard to appearances required some slight notice of great public evils, — some occasional effort *ne quid detrimenti respublica capiat.* Of these evils drunkenness was one, — the greatest, — greater than all others united. The guardians of the Commonwealth must therefore, in common decency, declare it to be wrong, and go through the ceremony, at least, of passing acts to restrain and punish it. Accordingly it was enacted, that only so much rum should be sold as *the public good* required, — that none but *respectable, licensed* men should sell it, — and even they should not sell it to drunkards. Such was the substance of the laws relating to this subject. What more could be expected from lawgivers, a large proportion of whom, it is no slander to say, may have themselves actually debated and voted under the exciting or beclouding influences of ardent spirits, and that, without an accusing whisper of conscience that they did wrong; to whom the idea of total abstinence would have seemed the extravagance of ascetic superstition; who regarded every thing but staggering, bloated intoxication, as temperance; and, as if by a sort of infatuation, were utterly blind to the connection between the moderate use of rum and that brutal drunkenness which they condemned. Upon this point we need not enlarge. It is sufficient to say, that, in those days, the laws which sanctioned moderate drinking, as demanded by *the public good,* — which extended a strong arm to help men along in the downward path, and, only when they had reached the deep abyss, pretended in mockery to protect them as idiots or punish them as villains, — were a fair expression of public opinion, an accurate index of the universal habits of the people, and, under a free, elective, representative government, could not, in the nature of things, be other than what they are.*

But the times have changed. The last ten years have witnessed a moral revolution in the United States, wholly unexampled in the history of man. Looking back to the com-

* Should we be charged with inconsistency, in first saying that the laws opposed public opinion, and afterwards that they were the result and expression of it; we would more distinctly repeat what has before been intimated, — that the former part of the remark is applied to the penal, the latter to the permissive, portion of those laws, — showing them as repugnant among themselves, as they were fatal to public virtue.

mencement of this short term, we find a certain habit universally prevailing,—making part of every man's daily existence,—adopted alike by all classes and conditions, the old and young, the high and low, the rich and poor,—practised on all occasions, sad or joyous, sacred or secular,—as unquestioned in its morality as the eating of bread or the wearing of broadcloth; and finally, as under these circumstances was right and fit, sanctioned and encouraged by the law of the land. But, "in the fulness of time," a few individuals were endued, by the blessing of God, with wisdom to discern, and courage to declare, that this all-pervading habit was wrong, dangerous, fatal; that, every passing year, it destroyed property, life, character, and virtue, to a frightful and almost incredible amount; and was, in fact, fast ruining a nation otherwise the freest and happiest on earth. Such a disclosure, involving almost universal condemnation, incurred, at the outset, almost universal ridicule or censure. But it was *true;* and never was the maxim "*Magna est veritas et prævalebit*" more signally verified, than in the effects which it produced. The same generous spirit, which proclaimed the disease, also devised the remedy; and enough of virtuous sensibility yet remained in the land, to shudder at the one, and eagerly to adopt and diffuse the other. If combined simplicity and power be the true elements of sublimity, never was there exhibited in our world a more sublime moral institution than the Temperance Society. In its original smaller than a grain of mustard-seed, it has spread into a boundless tree, whose branches are for the healing of the nations. At first, obnoxious to all but its founders, as equally intolerant, fanatical, and visionary, it has silently but rapidly extended its triumphs, enrolled under its peaceful banner all sects and parties, and gone far, very far, towards revolutionizing the inveterate opinions, tastes, and habits of a great and free people.

Is this an exaggerated statement? I admit that it might be so considered, if the temperance reform were confined to that part of the community, which has nominally connected itself with the Temperance Society, and assumed the express obligation of total abstinence. But who does not know, that this is a faint and inadequate view of the change which has taken place in public sentiment; that the efforts, so unremittingly used to spread light and information, have succeeded in laying bare to a nation's eye the deformities of an established and cherished cus-

tom, and in awakening a sympathetic desire for its extermination; and, in fine, that at the present moment, whether members of the Temperance Society or not, all respectable, considerate, conscientious men, unless they are blinded by self-interest, from regarding ardent spirits as a necessary or a cordial, have come to look upon them with disgust or horror, as the great bane and curse of civilized man?

That these views are substantially correct, we think any one may be satisfied, who will propose to himself a few simple questions, and answer them from his own daily observation. Within the memory of all of us, ardent spirits were always used at *funerals;* the decanter of brandy was as invariable an accompaniment to these scenes of woe, as the habiliments of mourning or the minister of religion. But now; — what man, who has the feelings of one, — we say not, what member of the Temperance Society, — but what *man*, with a heart to bleed for the loss of wife or parent or child, would not be shocked and ashamed to profane with the deep draught and half-suppressed revel the last solemn rites of the dead? Let us run over the list of respectable men whom we are in the habit of meeting in society. How many of them are there that now habitually drink ardent spirits, place them daily upon their tables, and furnish them to their servants and guests? Of the truly respectable, very few. And yet there are hundreds who have never joined the Temperance Society. Who, that is not notoriously wanting in moral principle, at this day, reviles or denounces the temperance cause; or fails to acknowledge the nobleness of its object, and bid it God speed? Yet, because an individual expresses this approbation, and with perfect sincerity, we neither do nor have a right to infer that he himself has signed the pledge. How many associations are there, which formerly transacted all their business and celebrated all their festivities under the inspiration of the bottle, that now entirely discard it as low and disreputable. Yet many, perhaps a majority, of the members, have thus far withheld their names from the total-abstinence Constitution.

These are a few illustrations, — many more will suggest themselves to every reflecting reader, — of the point in question. The truth is, the temperance reform can in no sense be measured by strings of names and pledges. You might as well limit the light of the sun to the spot visited by his direct rays; or the blessings of a holy religion to the few who minis-

ter at its altar. The temperance reform was indeed originated, and has been and must be carried on, by pledged associations; but, through their influence, the moral atmosphere of society is purified of its deadly elements, and all who respire it are renovated in feeling and principle. Different individuals are restrained by various considerations from taking a conspicuous part in this benevolent work; but no man, who has even a proper self-respect, will now deny, that the use of ardent spirits as a drink is a heavy national calamity, and that the efforts to banish it from society deserve the warm approval of all who can be touched by the sins and sufferings of their race.

From these considerations it sufficiently appears, that the *practicability* of legislating for the suppression of intemperance now, is a question which has nothing to do with its practicability at the time when the existing system of laws was adopted. In showing that these laws were untimely, we had occasion also to show that they were, in principle, radically, fatally wrong. They were, in substance as well as name, *license laws*. Their pecuniary impositions were for revenue, rather than for punishment. That any law can operate to check a vice, which it not only tolerates, but expressly licenses, is a paradox too gross to require refutation. We indeed want laws, but not such as these. Public opinion, instead of licensing, condemns and prohibits the traffic in rum. Let the law do the same. Public opinion, instead of regarding the traffic in rum as necessary for *the public good*, sees in it nothing but the prolific source of sin, suffering, and death. Let the law do the same. Then, and not till then, if the experiment fail, let it be said that legislation for the suppression of intemperance is *impracticable*.

II. It is further objected, that such legislation is *inexpedient*. By "inexpedient" I understand to be meant *unseasonable*, or *premature*; because the question of general, abstract expediency is of course involved in those of practicability, right, and necessity. Upon this understanding of the term, the force of the objection seems to be, that public opinion does not yet, however it may at some future time, call for prohibitory laws against the sale of ardent spirit; that laws in advance of public opinion will be unpopular, create a reaction, and injure the cause which they are designed to advance. The argument has been already incidentally noticed, in considering the question of practicability; but admits and requires a little more precise examination under the present head.

It is important to understand what is meant by saying, that public opinion *calls for* legislation upon this subject. We understand it to mean, not that prohibitory laws are absolutely and imperiously demanded, but that, if enacted, they will be cordially sustained and enforced by the people. We understand it to mean, that public opinion is so far enlightened, and prevailing habits are so far rectified, that such laws would no longer conflict at fearful odds with either. If so, and if they can be further made out to be proper and necessary, this is all the expediency we want, and all we contend for.

In this explanation, we merely urge the propriety of treating legislators as reasonable beings, and not as downright machines. When a body of men, selected from the community at large for superior wisdom, and specially entrusted with the oversight of the general welfare, suffer a public evil to pass year after year without effectual notice, is it too much to expect, that the people should take their tone of feeling from so respectable an authority, and, although deeply impressed with the importance of efficient action, and ready with their whole heart to sustain the most rigid prohibitions, that they should nevertheless patiently wait for the measures which calm deliberation and enlightened patriotism may dictate?

The history of legislation furnishes abundant illustrations of this remark. Perhaps none more striking could be found, than the act of Massachusetts, passed at the session before the last, for the suppression of lotteries. Every one will recollect the occasion of enacting that law. An unfortunate young man had become deeply involved in lottery gambling; had exhausted his own resources, embezzled the money of his employer, brought himself to the verge of detection and infamy, and in a fit of despair committed suicide. These circumstances produced a considerable excitement against that which was acknowledged to be the source of so much crime and misery. A few petitions were presented to the legislature, then in session, on the subject of lotteries. They were referred to a committee; and, after a few days, a bill was reported, and adopted almost by acclamation, which, for strictness and severity, considering the comparatively venial nature of the offence, has hardly its equal on our statute-book. This law prohibits, and punishes, with a heavy fine for the first offence, and imprisonment for the second, the sale, or possession with a view to sale, of lottery tickets; the management, drawing, and ad-

vertising of lotteries; and the letting of buildings to be used in conducting them; — bestows a liberal bounty upon any informer who will procure conviction of an offender; — and forfeits all moneys drawn in a lottery to the Commonwealth. Here was no half-way work. The slightest attention to these provisions will show, that it was their object to tear up the lottery system by the roots. Yet no loud and general and continued voice had come up from the people, to indicate that public opinion urgently and vehemently demanded so penal an act. Lotteries, it is true, were generally regarded as detrimental to society; but they had by no means become decidedly obnoxious; no systematic efforts had been made, no societies formed, no publications issued, to put them down. Respectable men sold, — hundreds of respectable men bought; — lottery tickets, without disgrace or censure. The legislature was borne along by no irresistible current of popular will; but, under the excitement of a single, solitary event, and upon their own responsibility, passed a law which went the whole length of exterminating an extensive and long established institution. Under these circumstances, so stern a statute might plausibly have been condemned as rash and premature. But what was the result? The very passage of the act seemed either to create or develope a universal sentiment in its favor. It revealed desires hitherto latent, fixed opinions hitherto vague and wandering, and, sustained by an overwhelming majority, gave a death-blow to lotteries in Massachusetts.

It is worth while, for a moment, to contemplate the calamitous incident which gave occasion to this sudden and successful burst of legislation, and to compare it with certain others, somewhat analogous, but more peculiarly connected with the vice of intemperance. Some humane lawgiver probably read the story of this tragedy in his daily newspaper, and pointed it out, with expressions of sympathy, to the attention of other members. Let us suppose them to have been advocates of the prohibitory system for which we contend, and, at that very time, to have been laboring for its adoption. They unite with him in his natural emotions of pity and indignation at the narrative; but, in the same column, show him the account of the man, who but a few days before crazed himself with rum at a grog-shop, went home, and butchered his wife and six children, broiling one of them on the fire of his own hearth; and they take up a file of newspapers, and in every one of

them exhibit to him some equally dreadful crime, which directly and immediately resulted from the sale of ardent spirits, and, but for that, could not possibly have happened. What would be his reply? Let experience tell what has been the reply to similar appeals. "These are events of every day's occurrence; why should you point them out as deserving of special notice?" Strange reasoning! — which would make the very frequency of a crime an argument for its impunity. Fatal influence of custom! — by which the constant exhibition of evil blinds the eye and hardens the conscience to its enormity. Well might the enemy of rum exclaim to the foe of lotteries,

> "What would you do,
> Had you the motive and the cue for passion
> That we have? You would drown the world with tears,
> And cleave the general ear with horrid speech,
> Make mad the guilty and appal the free."

It is indeed most true, that "these are events of every day's occurrence." The people, — in advance of their rulers, — have at length become awakened to the solemn truth. That same community, which could be so touched by the self-inflicted death of one man, as to rejoice in the suppression of lotteries, is now moved to its depths by the horrors of a traffic, through which rivers of innocent blood have been shed, and prepared to welcome with the same exultation the unsparing act of government which shall for ever condemn and blast it.

We close our remarks upon this branch of our subject with a short extract from the late work of Bulwer, "England and the English," — a book which abounds with those original and striking reflections, so characteristic of its brilliant author. "A good government," says he, "is a *directive* government. It should be in advance of the people, — it should pass laws for them, not receive all law from them. At present, we go on in abuses, until a clamor is made against them, and the government gives way, — a fatal policy, which makes a weak legislature and a turbulent people. A government should never give way, — it should never place itself in a condition to give way, — it should provide for changes ere they are fiercely demanded, and, by timely diversions of the channels of opinion, prevent the possibility of an overflow. When a government acts thus, it is ever strong, — it never comes in contact with the people, — it is a directive government, not a

conceding one, and procures the blessings of a free government by the vigor of a despotic one."

III. It is further objected, that legislation for the suppression of intemperance is *wrong*; that the sale of ardent spirits, however pernicious its consequences, is a lawful business, and cannot justly or constitutionally be interfered with by the government; that temperance societies have a perfect right, by argument and motive, by diffusing information and awakening excitement, to effect a change in the habits of the people, — to dissuade not only the buyer from buying, but the seller from selling, provided it can be done by moral influence alone; but that, when they invoke the legislature to impose penalties on a regular and quiet traffic, which furnishes profit to a large number of their fellow-citizens, they go beyond their legitimate province, and lend themselves to the encouragement of injustice and oppression.

Before replying directly to these positions, we would take occasion to deny both the propriety and expediency of any interference by temperance societies, as such, with the business of legislation. These are voluntary bodies of individuals, having no legal existence, and therefore nothing to do, in their collective capacity, with the laws of the land. Each member has certain duties to perform, in reference to the temperance cause, by virtue of his subscription to a temperance constitution; but he has other duties, wholly independent of the former, and in common with every good citizen, as a member of civil society. We think it unwise for societies, *eo nomine*, to adopt active measures in favor of prohibitory laws. Such proceedings always excite suspicion and prejudice. The cry is raised, of combination and conspiracy to take away the rights of individuals, who stand by themselves, and have no counter-union to resist the attack. If legislation shall be resorted to for the suppression of intemperance, it will be because intemperance is a public evil, — an injury to the state; therefore every man, who labors to bring about the application of this remedy, ought to act in his individual capacity, as a member of the state. We are not aware, that there has been any general departure from this principle. It is very true, that the subject of legislation is discussed at the meetings of temperance societies, — and for the simple reason, that these are the only occasions, on which the friends of temperance find opportunity to come together and consult upon the best means of

advancing the cause. But though societies deliberate and resolve, *the action* which they recommend is uniformly, so far as we know, that of individual citizens, without a pretence that they are bound by the will or vote of a majority. Let this course be persisted in, and calumny will soon be silenced or disarmed. If there must be contention, it will be opinion against opinion, man against man. Truth and justice will turn the scale; and the victory, when gained, will be an honorable and glorious one.

In maintaining the right of the legislature to suppress the traffic in ardent spirit, we are met by one of two difficulties, according to the frame of mind which we happen to be experiencing at the moment. Either so many arguments throng upon us, each, as we think, convincing and conclusive, that we are compelled to select from among them, and at the same time know not which to choose; or else the objection in question strikes us as self-evidently false, and we find a solecism as hard to disprove as if it were an axiom.

Unconstitutionality is, nowadays, the last refuge of political error. When all other pleas fail, this comes in, like the benefit of clergy, to save, though not to clear, the convicted sophist. Used originally by those who understand it, it has now become the pet phrase of those who do not; meaning every thing and any thing as occasion may require; but fairly susceptible of the following paraphrase, — "This law *I do not like*; it hurts *my business*, and is oppressive; our constitution does not allow oppression; the law is *unconstitutional.*" A precious specimen of radical logic!

We would not dim with the mists of elaborate reasoning a clear and bright truth. We pass over without comment these simple facts; — that, by the terms of the constitution itself, the legislature is invested with discretionary power to "pass all wholesome and reasonable laws, either *with penalties or without*, so as the same be not repugnant to the constitution," and therefore, in reference to a proposed law, not the power, but the want of it, must be clearly made out by pointing to some repugnant clause in the instrument; that "a constant adherence to the principles of *temperance*" is expressly enjoined, both upon "the people in the choice of their officers and representatives," and upon "lawgivers and magistrates in the formation and execution of the laws;" and that the immemorial usage of restricting the sale of ardent spirits to the

demands of "the public good" necessarily involves the right of absolutely prohibiting it, when the same great object shall so require. To these plain and brief statements we think only a few observations need be added.

What is it, we would ask, that gives to civil government the right to interfere, for the correction of the various evils that exist among men? Or rather, what is it, that makes it wrong, a plain omission of duty, for government not thus to interfere? We can think of only three material circumstances. These relate to the magnitude, the extent, and the nature, of the evil complained of. If it be small, limited, or private, although by no means clearly wrong, it is not clearly right or a duty, for the legislature to interpose. But in regard to the evils resulting from intemperance, it is evident, at a glance, that neither of these objections exists. Those evils are, in magnitude, enormous; in extent, all-pervading; in nature, public, and injurious to the community, as a community. The almshouse and the penitentiary are standing and melancholy memorials of this truth; for drunkenness, we had almost said drunkenness alone, peoples them both. Yet of these institutions, every good government feels itself bound to take peculiar care; and in nothing does our own free legislation more conspicuously exhibit its humanity on the one hand and its judicious severity on the other, than in providing for the relief of the poor and the just punishment of crime. The objection in question involves therefore this singular principle, that, — while it is not only the right, but the duty and immemorial practice, of the government, to see that poverty, actually existing, be not thrown upon the charity of a cold world, but find a sure refuge in the permanent establishments of the state; and that crimes, after they are committed, be visited with that degree of retribution which the public justice and security demand, — this same government cannot legislate preventively, concerning the acknowledged source of nearly all the poverty and crime in the Commonwealth, without an arbitrary violation of its charter and of the people's rights.

Shall it be said, that government has no right to interfere with the cause of public evils, but only with the evils themselves; that an act, in itself indifferent, cannot properly be prohibited by law, on account of its injurious consequences? We could hardly have believed, had not experience taught us, that such a principle would be advanced by any intelligent and

observing man. What pupil, in moral or in political philosophy, has not read of the "*malum in se*," and the "*malum prohibitum*"? And what distinguishes the latter from the former, but the very circumstance, on which this objection is founded? It, in fact, blots out from the statute-books of all civilized states far the larger portion of their contents. Let us look at one or two obvious illustrations. Gaming is not denied to be a proper subject of prohibitory legislation. Yet who will pretend, that there is any thing criminal in throwing a few square pieces of ivory from a box, or distributing oblong strips of pasteboard around a table? Lotteries are in themselves innocent, as much so as any other species of hazardous speculation; yet, because they are productive of public mischief, the right to suppress them has never been questioned. We go farther than this, and maintain, that some acts, forbidden not only by the municipal but the divine law, are, under certain circumstances, excusable in themselves, and wrong only in view of their consequences. Theft is an example. The poor man, under the fear of imminent starvation, — the fountains of charity sealed against him, — steals from his rich neighbour bread enough to save him from death; and is imprisoned, as a felon, without one humane and indulgent friend to intercede in his behalf. Why is he, and why does he deserve to be punished? Simply in reference to consequences; — because impunity in theft, however insignificant the subject of it, however pressing the inducement to commit it, would result in an entire insecurity of private property and a dissolution of human society.

Is it objected, that intemperance is a private, personal habit; which begins and ends with the individual himself, in no way connects him with society, and therefore wants the most essential circumstance to justify legislative interference? We think that this position might be fully answered, both upon principle and analogy. But a more simple way of meeting it, is to disclaim any recommendation, on our part, of the course to which it refers. We do not contend for laws, which shall prohibit the *consumption* of ardent spirit. Whether right or wrong, — a point on which we have little doubt, — we deem it impolitic, undignified, foreign from the genius of the nineteenth century, for government to meddle with the private habits of the citizen; to prescribe "what he shall eat, or what he shall drink, or wherewithal he shall be clothed." But *the*

sale of ardent spirits stands on entirely different ground. If it can be had for consumption, without being exposed for sale, — be it so; let every man carry on a distillery in his own house, if he pleases. But, if all the ardent spirit which is consumed, is first sold; if the sale is the cause, and the consumption the effect, — then a most fortunate and legitimate mode is provided for suppressing the use by suppressing the sale.

The objection, which questions the right of government to interfere on this subject, never assumes a form so palpably absurd, as in claiming some peculiar immunity from legislative interference for *the business of selling*. Wherein this mysterious exemption consists, it might be somewhat difficult to point out. Trade, commerce, is in its very nature, emphatically *public*, and a proper subject of public direction and control. That government never existed on earth, the records of whose legislation will not show, that one of its earliest and simplest duties was understood to be the regulation of commercial intercourse, not only with foreigners, but among its own citizens. When all civil government shall have come to an end, and that state of nature, — falsely called "the reign of God," wherein law is denounced as tyranny and savage license called freedom, once more spread its raven wing over the world; —

> "When the murderer waits not for the night,
> But smites his brother down in the bright day,"

and government can neither interpose its shield, nor wield the sword of vengeance, because all have an inalienable right *to do* what they please: — then, and not before, will it be time to maintain, that all have an inalienable right to *sell* what they please.

IV. We have endeavoured to show, that the interference of the law for the suppression of intemperance is practicable, expedient, and right. The further question remains, whether it is also *necessary*, to accomplish the object in view, — for we are ready to admit, that the spirit of a republican government does not sanction the enactment of any restraining or prohibitory laws, except such as the public good absolutely requires. It is maintained, that no such exigency exists in the case which we are considering; that intemperance, regarded as a prevailing vice, has its foundation in erroneous belief and wrong inclination, and, when these shall have been

rectified by a plain and universal exhibition of what is true and right, will quietly pass away from among men; — in other words, that *public opinion*, without other means, will eventually accomplish the reformation.

But what, we would ask, is meant by "public opinion"? No phrase is more common, and none, we believe, has a more definite signification. It means, undoubtedly, the opinion of *a majority;* the popular, prevailing sentiment. Who ever dreamed of effecting absolute unanimity on any subject? If public opinion meant universal opinion, there would be an absurdity in talking of *its influence;* because that which all agree in approving, and all have power to do, will be voluntarily done by all. If every man, woman, and child in the community incurred and fulfilled the obligations imposed by a temperance society, the great work of reform would have been accomplished, and the friends of humanity might repose from their efforts. But supposing a majority only, which is all we can reasonably expect, to be of this description, how are they to bring about the triumph of virtue over vice, and purify the world from gross and ancient pollutions? There is but one way; and that consists in the inestimable institution of a free government; under which, and in reference to matters that admit of positive regulation, public opinion, — the soul, the vital principle, the moving energy of society, but nevertheless impalpable and powerless till material instruments are supplied to it, — assumes the form of *law*, and thereby becomes imperative and absolute.

The application of these remarks to the subject under consideration is obvious. The temperance cause now has, or soon will have, a majority of the community enrolled in its ranks. What then? Is there not, — will there not always be, — a numerous minority that oppose? While there remain in the world bad men as well as good, enemies as well as friends to human improvement, it must be so. So long as the traffic in ardent spirit shall continue to yield its farthing of gain, there will be those, whom no argument or persuasion can induce to abandon it; upon whom light and truth will fall as powerless, as the moonbeam upon the cold rock and insensible clod; who "neither fear God nor regard man," but are given over to base and sordid avarice, even though human life and salvation should be the horrid sacrifice. We avow our full conviction, that mere moral influence can never

put an end to this traffic. We would as soon trust any other offence against society, — murder, the slave-trade, lotteries, — to the same corrective. Moral influence has indeed wrought, and will continue to work, wonderful effects. The records of the temperance reformation abundantly show, in the numerous instances of distilleries closed, and stores purified from rum, that the power of conscience alone, quickened by the exhibition of clear but hitherto forgotten truth, is sufficient to divorce from an unholy calling all in whom that divine principle has not been long quenched; and encourage the expectation, that, in process of time, all honest and respectable men will cease to sell this poisonous liquid. But it is surely short-sighted folly, instead of charity, not to inquire whether all the sellers of rum, or the greater part of them, are "honest and respectable"? And if the better portion abandon the business, are there not those who stand ready to take it up and fill their place; or else will not one sell now, nearly or quite as much as two sold before? It is sometimes said, that, when the traffic shall have become so disreputable as to fall exclusively into bad hands, the consumer will of course take the level of the seller, the use of rum be confined to those already degraded past hope, and the inroads of intemperance upon the community come to an end. Nothing can be more fallacious. It is as the corrupter of *innocence* that rum is most to be dreaded; it is because he ensnares *innocent* victims in his toils, that the seller of rum is most to be abhorred. It would almost seem, as if the mere diffusion of this poison through society had the effect to deaden the moral sense, and create an unnatural appetite. We need contend, however, for no such subtle and mystical influence. All observation proves, that, with regard to intemperance, more than any other in the catalogue of vices, it is the presence of temptation which creates the desire for indulgence. "God made man upright." No instinct, implanted by his Creator, hurries him on to self-destruction; — but the fatal instruments of evil spread out before him by his treacherous fellow-man. The presence of temptation awakens within him artificial desires which nature never knew. Passion, solicitation, example, all blend their influence to overcome his original antipathy; till, at last, habit becomes stronger than instinct, — enduring as life itself. Intemperance is of such a nature, that, until the means of gratification are withheld, it will be for ever perpetuating its own existence

ence. The friends of temperance will not indeed cease from doing all that can be done, by exhortation, by moral influence, by example. But alas! there wanders through the land an agent of evil, which would undo more than all their exhortations can accomplish. While they yet utter the warning voice, the angel of destruction, with his deadly charm, deafens the youthful ear, and hardens the tender conscience, against it. Moral influence is invisible; but this tempter, brilliant as the serpent in Eden, and having power to call up visions of unearthly beauty before the excited fancy, is every where seen, and every where invites the unwary victim to his embrace. Example, — the example of virtue, — is calm and silent; but around this fatal deceiver is heard the tumultuous laugh of gayety; and the buoyant spirit, "burning for pleasure," rushes wildly forward to partake of the intoxicating cup, and bathe itself in Elysium. Against such a subtle and deadly foe, all mild expedients are powerless; the omnipotent law alone can banish him from the land.

We have endeavoured, in the preceding pages, to express our views upon what seems to us a grave and solemn subject. The time, we think, has now come, when the question of the temperance reformation must be settled, and settled for ever. The dark age of ignorance has passed away. The clouds have rolled off, and hardly a speck remains visible even in the distant horizon. We do not now stand where we stood ten years ago. Then, when Christian philanthropy first imagined that great moral emancipation, for which it has since so earnestly and faithfully labored, the work to be done was indeed a mighty one, but the means for effecting it more obvious and at hand, and therefore it was not impossible. Ignorance, thoughtlessness, fashion, education, — these were the great sources or upholders of intemperance; and the great instrument for overcoming them all, was knowledge, light, exposure of evil deadly but unnoticed, of truth plain but forgotten. The remedy has been tried to the utmost; the country has been flooded with light; the subject is now understood, and neither argument nor information can ever make it clearer. If the experiment fail, the case is desperate; — "there remaineth no more sacrifice for sin."

It has been our object to show, that, although little more can be done for this great cause in the way of light and knowledge; yet, the door is now opened, and the time urgently calls

for action, — legislative, compulsory action. We regard all past measures as chiefly valuable in having been the necessary precursors to this final consummation. Without it, the reform seems to us partial, temporary, and unworthy of the arduous efforts which have been used in its behalf.

There is, we fear, in some minds, a growing skepticism with regard to the final success of the temperance cause, — which arises from the contrast between the speculative principles and high pretensions set forth in addresses and publications, and the actual superficial condition of society. Representations of a wonderful change and improvement are regarded as extravagant, because outward appearances do not correspond with them. While the country resounds from one end to the other with lectures, and is inundated with pamphlets and newspapers; while new accessions to the pledge are trumpeted far and wide as conclusive proof that "the work goes bravely on"; — rum still continues to be sold at every corner of the streets; and each passing day, with its calendar of crime and woe, bears witness to the fatal results. While the eloquent discourse is pronounced in the hall above, there is a merry crew in the shop below, whom the ministering priest at *that* altar is entertaining with the story of his doubled profits since his frightened neighbour gave up the business. We say, there are those, who grow discouraged in contemplating this melancholy contrast; who begin to feel, as if the temperance cause, however noble in theory, were wanting in the *practical*, and would turn out, after all, a visionary though benevolent scheme of human perfectibility; who, beholding sober counsels contending at such odds with alluring and deceptive forms of evil, — the virtuous principle corrupted, the fixed resolve broken, even the solemn pledge violated, through the mere presence of surrounding temptation, — are convinced that something more decisive must be done, or all is lost.

These impressions seem to be gaining ground; — and, in consequence, some of the intelligent and influential friends to the cause become lukewarm through despondency. Practical, sensible men grow dissatisfied with an institution, which professes for its object the moral reformation of the world, but seems to have engaged in an unequal and unsuccessful warfare, and expended its strength in words. Every thing gives token, that the cause must be carried forward by some new and vigorous effort, — or else it will begin to ebb; and public opinion,

unable to impress itself upon the outward aspect of society, will, by a natural reaction, take its own stamp from the visible scenes that surround it. Individuals and combinations of individuals, have done much of all that they can do. It remains for *government*, — whose highest glory and most blessed prerogative is to promote the virtue of its subjects, — to perfect the reform by wise and constitutional legislation.

[For the Christian Examiner.]

ART. III. — *Essay on the Doctrine of Divine Influence.* — Continued.

HAVING alluded, in our last Number,* to the importance of the Doctrine of Divine Influence, and stated the grounds on which our belief of it rests, we proceed now to inquire, in in the second place, — What are the *methods* in which God, or the spirit of God, influences the human mind? We have thus far pursued our course hand in hand with the great mass of our fellow Christians, at least, so far as the reality of these influences is concerned. We now come to a point where our path begins to diverge from theirs, and where we shall be compelled to make the best of our way without their company or encouragement. We must, however, continue to pursue what we deem to be the blended light of reason and revelation, though we pursue it alone; and our earnest wish at parting with our fellow inquirers is, that the spirit of truth may guide us and them into all important truth. This division of the subject, moreover, requires especial attention and care; since it is here that mistakes and perversions of the doctrine most frequently occur, and it is here too, that they assume a more practical character, and tend to results which seriously affect the conduct and happiness of men.

Before giving an affirmative answer to the question, how, or by what methods, the Divine Influence operates upon the human mind, we shall advert to some errors, grave and lamentable, as we think, which have prevailed on this subject.

And, in the first place, we observe that this Divine Influence is not *supernaturally* imparted. There is no evidence to prove

* See Christian Examiner for January, 1835, pp. 311 – 332.

that there is any thing *miraculous* in the methods in which it is vouchsafed to the mind. We use these words supernatural and miraculous, in the ordinary sense of the terms, as signifying that which is distinct from, and superior to, the established laws of nature, or the known and ordinary operations of God's moral government. The proposition then before us is, There is no reason to believe that the influence of God upon the minds of men is manifested in a supernatural or miraculous manner, in this sense of the terms. We are aware that this proposition is not, in so many words, insisted upon by many writers of the present day, who nevertheless class themselves under that general denomination of Christians who yet continue to receive the doctrine in its primitive purity. Indeed, there seems to be a growing desire among the more enlightened of this class of Christians to omit the use of those phrases which express the *supernatural* character of the Divine Influence, and to substitute others, such as "saving," and "special" in their place; and this is to be noted among the auspicious signs, that more correct views on the subject are beginning to prevail. But the doctrine of the strictly supernatural character of this influence was inculcated by Calvin, though much less explicitly than by many of his followers in more recent times.* It was strongly urged by Whitfield, and by the Wesleys, particularly in the early part of their career, and became in the middle part of the last century, on this side of the Atlantic, the prevailing belief. It is asserted in a variety of forms in the "Constitution of the Presbyterian Church of the United States, as amended and ratified by the General Assembly, at their Session in May, 1821." It is plainly recognised in the creed of the Theological Institution of Andover, in this State, as well as in most of those of similar kind in our country, which profess to be Calvinistic in their character; and is, at the present day, the avowed and cherished belief of those Christians generally, who pass under the common name of Orthodox. On these accounts, we deem it proper to give to the doctrine a distinct and faithful examination.

In illustration of the prevalence of the doctrine of the strictly miraculous influence of God upon the mind, and for the pur-

* We refer the reader to the "Institutes of the Christian Religion," in proof of this remark, and particularly to Book II. c. 4, and to Book III. c. 1. Indeed this is one proof among many, of the fact, that his disciples have far outrun their master.

pose of bringing it fully and distinctly before the reader, we shall refer to the testimony of President Edwards; the celebrity of whose name, the weight of whose authority, as well as the honest fulness and explicitness of whose statements, render his sentiments on this subject extremely interesting. Thus, in his treatise on "Religious Affections," a book which is now in unquestioned repute, and which, for three quarters of a century, has been referred to and quoted, reprinted and circulated, by the predominant classes of Christians in this country, with a deference only less than that which is paid to the Bible itself, we find passages like the following.*

"But if there be indeed a power, entirely different from, and beyond our power, or the power of all means and instruments, and above the power of nature, which is requisite in order to the production of saving grace in the heart, *according to the general profession of the country*," &c. — p. 59.

Though this is put hypothetically, yet it is evident from the whole course of the argument, that he believed in the reality of this power, and that this was supernaturally exercised. And it also gives us no less an authority than that of President Edwards himself, that this was the *general* profession of this country, at the time he wrote.

Other extracts will show more explicitly his own individual convictions of the miraculous character of the "saving" or "gracious" operations of the Spirit.

"There is no necessary connexion in the nature of things, between any thing that a natural man may experience, while in a state of nature, and the saving grace of God's Spirit." — "There is no revealed certain connexion between a state of salvation, and any thing that a natural man can be the subject of, before he believes in Christ." — p. 84.

"The Spirit of God is given to the true saints to dwell in them, as his proper lasting abode; and to influence their hearts, as a principle of a *new nature*, or as a divine *supernatural* spring of life and action." — p. 127.

"They," that is, the unregenerate, "not only have not these communications of the Spirit of God in so high a degree as the saints, but have *nothing of that nature or kind*." — p. 131.

"From these things it is evident, that those gracious influ-

* We quote from the American edition of the "Works of President Edwards," (1808.) Vol. IV.

ences which the saints are subjects of, and the effects of God's Spirit which they experience, *are entirely above nature, altogether of a different kind from any thing that men have within themselves by nature, or only in the exercise of natural principles; and are things which no improvement of those qualifications or principles that are natural, no advancing or exalting them to higher degrees, and no kind of composition of them will ever bring men to; because they not only differ from what is natural, and from every thing that natural men experience, in degree and circumstances, but also in kind; and are of a nature vastly more excellent. And this is what I mean by supernatural, when I say that gracious affections are from those influences that are supernatural.*" — p. 133.

This, we suppose, is full and explicit enough. But it is only a specimen of that train of thought to which the whole of the second and third parts of this very able and interesting Essay are devoted. He thus speaks of those "gracious exercises and affections which are wrought in the minds of the saints, through the saving influences of a Spirit of God, as involving a new inward perception or sensation of their minds, *entirely different in its nature and kind*, from any thing that ever their minds were the subjects of before they were sanctified." And lest it should be thought that this new inward perception or sensation might be produced by any "improvement, composition, or management of what the soul was before conscious or sensible of, or any thing like it," he goes on distinctly to state, that this new spiritual sense and the new dispositions that attend it, are not new "*faculties*," but are *new* "*principles*" of nature, — a *new foundation* laid in the nature of the soul, for a new kind of exercises. — pp. 133–135.

And that there may be no shadow of doubt resting on his meaning, he carefully distinguishes between the natural and supernatural influences of the Spirit of God upon the human mind. After speaking of some of the methods in which this Spirit assists "natural men," he goes on to observe:

"And so many other ways might be mentioned wherein the Spirit acts upon and assists natural principles; but *after all, it is no more than nature moved, acted upon, and improved; here is nothing supernatural and divine.* But the Spirit of God, in his spiritual influences on the hearts of his saints, operates by infusing or exercising *new, divine*, and *supernatural* principles; principles which are indeed a new and spiritual nature, and

principles vastly more noble and excellent than all that is in natural man."* — p. 136.

This then is the doctrine of the supernatural influence of the Holy Spirit in the conversion of the sinner. We have copied these passages in full, that it might be seen that we are contending with no fancied hypothesis, no antiquated theory; and also to exhibit on the high authority of President Edwards, and in his own words, what the doctrine is and what it implies.

We feel compelled to reject it altogether. We find no authority for it in reason, in human experience, in the philosophy of the human mind, or in the Scriptures. We think, moreover, that it is encumbered with insuperable difficulties, and lies open to objections which are absolutely fatal. We are aware of the strength of this language, and ask the attention of our readers to some considerations by which, in our apprehension, it is authorized.

I. And, in the first place, we reject the doctrine because those, who consider themselves to be the subjects of these supernatural influences, have not themselves, do not give, and, from the nature of the case, cannot give to others, any sufficient evidence of the fact. We doubt not the reality of their belief, or the sincerity of their assertions; but we maintain, nevertheless, that they neither possess any proof which ought to satisfy their own minds, nor can they afford to others any adequate proof that this belief is well founded. The ground on which they believe themselves to be the subjects of a supernatural influence of the spirit of God is this, and only this,— they are strongly persuaded that such is the fact. "They see," says Locke,† whose words we here quote, as a fair and full exposition of the ground and evidence upon which the doctrine is received, "they see the light infused into their understandings, and cannot be mistaken: it is clear and visible there, like the light

* It would be easy to quote volumes from distinguished divines on both sides of the Atlantic, to the same purpose. Dr. Milner goes so far as to maintain, in so many words, "that this aid of the Divine Spirit is a new perceptive faculty, without which the Scriptures are insufficient for the purpose of a revelation."

† Essay, Book IV. Chap. 19, Of Enthusiasm. We refer the reader to the whole of this admirable Chapter, as containing the most powerful antidote and corrective of all "Enthusiasm" on this subject, that is to be found, within the same compass.

of bright sunshine: shows itself, and needs no other proof but its own evidence: they feel the hand of God moving them within, and the impulses of the Spirit, and cannot be mistaken in what they feel. Thus they support themselves, and are sure that reason hath nothing to do with what they see and feel in themselves: what they have a sensible experience of, admits no doubt, needs no probation. Would he not be ridiculous, who should require to have it proved to him, that the light shines, and that he sees it? It is its own proof and can have no other. When the Spirit brings light into our minds, it dispels darkness. We see it as we do that of the sun at noon, and need not the twilight of reason to show it us. This light from heaven is strong, clear, and pure, and carries its own demonstration with it; and we may as rationally take a glow-worm to assist us to discover the sun, as to examine the celestial ray by our dim candle reason." * * *

"This," he goes on to observe, "this is the way of talking of these men: they are sure, because they are sure: and their persuasions are right, only because they are strong in them. For, when what they say is stripped of the metaphor of seeing and feeling, this is all it amounts to: and yet these similes so impose on them, that they serve them for certainty in themselves, and demonstration to others."

This we believe to be the true statement of the matter, and the evidence adduced in support of a supernatural illumination of the mind resolves itself, when examined and divested of figurative language, into this, namely,—a strong persuasion of the fact. But what proof is there that the persons thus affected are not *self-deceived* in this? What test or criterion have they, by which they can distinguish these alleged extraordinary operations of the Spirit from the movements of an excited mind? If they have no evidence to offer in support of this save the strength of their persuasions, if they speak of a supernatural light which shines by its own inherent lustre, what is this but saying that they believe because they believe? If they yield their belief to an impression or impulse because it comes from God, the reason, undoubtedly, is a good one. But the question is, *How do they know* it came from God? If the answer be, as in fact it is, that they are strongly persuaded of it, they know it to be so; the question recurs, *Why* are they persuaded of it? *how* do they know it to be so? If there be no proof of this, as there, confessedly, is not, besides the im-

pression or impulse itself; if there be no *rational* grounds for this belief, as there is not, for, if there were, its whole nature would be changed; — then the statement of their belief is reduced to this, — they believe the impulse to be from God because it is divine, and they believe it to be divine because it comes from God.

But further, the argument in support of the miraculous influences of the Spirit, not only is thus found, when strictly examined, to revolve in a vicious circle, and is, in consequence, unavailing and nugatory; but is wanting in that very species of evidence on which it is professedly grounded. We ask particular attention to this point. This evidence in support of the supernatural influence in question, is, we are told, the highest possible. It is no less than the evidence of Consciousness. The impression, or state of mind, bears with it, it is said, the marks of its divine origin, and of this they are *conscious*. But of what are they conscious? Of nothing, certainly, but the impression or state of mind itself. That it has these marks of divinity is merely a matter of *inference*. It is strong, it is peculiar, and hence they *infer* that it is divine. The whole evidence then of consciousness, which is so confidently relied upon, when closely analyzed, amounts to this, and nothing more; — all that is made known by consciousness is the existence of the impression; but that this impression is supernatural, which is the very point to be proved, is only an *inference which the mind itself makes*; and it is one, moreover, which, from the nature of the case, is extremely liable to be mistaken. There is then no evidence of consciousness whatsoever.

But, not only is the doctrine unsustained by any sufficient evidence, and not only is it wanting in that particular species of evidence, on which it professedly rests, but this is the fact in respect to a subject, that requires proof of a high and extraordinary kind. This will appear from considering that the influences of the Spirit under remark are of a *miraculous* or *supernatural* character. Now the only *adequate* proof of such a miraculous influence, is *miraculous agency*. Nothing short of this is sufficient evidence of the fact. Nothing less than this *can* substantiate it. No one, without this evidence, is authorized to believe that he is himself the subject of such an influence; and no one, without this evidence, has any claims to be considered by others as being the subject of such

an influence. Ordinary events are established by the ordinary processes of proof. Those which are extraordinary require to be authenticated by this kind of proof in a higher degree. But those which are asserted to be miraculous, that is, above or beyond the common laws of nature, require to be established by those proofs which are miraculous, that is, those which are above or beyond the common laws of nature. We repeat then, though it is almost a self-evident proposition, that the only sufficient proof of a miraculous *influence* exerted on any mind, is a miraculous *agency*, or exhibition of this influence. These principles are recognised in all the recorded acts of God's interposition in human affairs. When He gave the light of prophecy and divine revelations to holy men of old, He gave, with them, those visible signs of His peculiar power and presence, which were a decisive confirmation of them to their own minds, and to the minds of others. It was something beside a strong persuasion, in the mind of Moses, which urged him to go to the relief of his brethren in Egypt; and he did not venture to trust to any internal light on this subject, until it was authenticated, as the will of God, by the miraculous signs of the bush burning without being consumed, and by the conversion of the rod into a serpent. Gideon's fleece is another instance of the same fact. And our Saviour himself claimed not to be the Messiah upon the assurance of any inward light, invisible to others and inexplicable to himself, but upon the grounds of the *miracles* which he performed, and these were open, overt facts, facts addressed to all the senses. "If," said he, "I had not done among them the works which none other man did, they had not had sin." And again, "The same works that I do, bear witness of me, that the Father hath sent me." And in like manner — "Though ye believe not me, believe the works; that ye may know and believe that the Father is in me, and I in him." And when the faithless Thomas would not give credence to the identity of Jesus, after his resurrection, even on the evidence of sight, but demanded the confirmation of touch also, our Lord mildly, indeed, reproved him for his incredulity, but, nevertheless, afforded to him the additional proof that he required. And now, to apply these remarks to the subject before us, if any claim to be the recipients of a supernatural illumination, we may not only properly withhold our belief of this fact, but we are imperatively obliged to reject any such claim, until they will give sufficient proof that it is

well founded. And as the only sufficient evidence of this is supernatural power, and as they will not, it is to be presumed, require of us to believe in *their* peculiar light on less decisive proof than the Prophets, our Saviour, and his Apostles gave, we may wait, before we admit their high pretension in this respect, until they show its reality, by curing the sick with a word, raising the dead, ruling the elements, or by doing some other "works," which none can do "unless the Father hath sent him." We solemnly maintain that we are at liberty, nay, that it is our imperious duty, without at all calling their veracity or sincerity in question, to determine for ourselves, whether it be not more probable that they are deceived in their belief of a supernatural influence of the Spirit, than that a belief, which seems to us encumbered with insuperable difficulties, can be true. And we would conjure all serious inquirers on this subject to reflect how hazardous a thing it is to trust to mere internal convictions, which are independent of, and considered superior to, our rational faculties. What criterion have we, in such a case, by which we can distinguish true religion from superstition, wisdom from folly, truth from error, sense from nonsense? There is not a religious zealot in Christendom who is more fully conscious, more entirely convinced of his peculiar illumination, than is the poor maniac of the existence and reality of those images which are the creation of his own sick brain. And we cannot perceive why, on the principle maintained, the one has not the same right to insist on the strength of his convictions as the other. We would here cite an instance in point. Within the circle of our own daily walks, there is an aged female, who sees, that is, in her own belief, sees a celestial messenger or angel from heaven, with whom she converses, and holds delightful, and, to her, edifying communion, and this, too, every successive morning and night. Nothing can exceed the strength of her conviction on this subject. It is clear, full, perfect, and no earthly being can dispossess her of it; whilst in all things else she is perfectly rational. Now if the mere convictions of a person in regard to any fact are to be taken as proof positive of the reality of the alleged fact, without further evidence, then this person is to be believed in regard to the undoubting persuasion of hers, though every one else perceives that it must be an instance of *monomania*, or partial insanity. And this example, too, may serve to illustrate the application and force

of the argument above stated in reference to the alleged evidence of consciousness. This person is as conscious of the presence and communion of this heavenly visitant, as any individual ever was of a supernatural influence. But of what is she conscious? Of nothing but certain impressions on her mind, produced, as she believes, by the presence of an external object. That these impressions thus made are to be referred to a divine origin, is an inference of her own; and it is one, which all but herself conclude to be the effect of a mind, so far as this particular circumstance is concerned, diseased and disordered.

Such are the consequences of the disuse and disavowal of our rational faculties in regard to the subject of divine influence, and of believing because we believe. What, in fact, but this very thing in regard to religion generally, has led to all the delusions and excesses of fanaticism and enthusiasm, which have so often and so deplorably disgraced the Christian name? "Every conceit," to quote again the authority of Locke, "that thoroughly warms our fancies, must pass for an inspiration, if there be nothing but the strength of our persuasions, whereby to judge of our persuasions: if *reason* must not examine their truth by something extrinsical to the persuasions themselves, inspirations and delusions, truth and falsehood, will have the same measure, and will not be possible to be distinguished." * Nor is this all. If mere persuasion, without proof, is a sufficient guide, then the more perfectly reason and common sense are silenced, the more perfect will the persuasion be, and consequently, more unquestioned its guidance, and more certainly divine. Yet further; if the strength of persuasions, in themselves considered merely, be sufficient evidence of their truth, then there is not a folly, or an extravagance, or an absurdity in opinion, of which men have been strongly persuaded, that is not true. And as men have been equally persuaded of the truth of absurdities and extravagances which are directly opposed to each other, these opposite absurdities and extravagances are equally true. Until, then, some criterion or test is furnished, by which the alleged supernatural influence of the Spirit is to be distinguished from the natural movements of the mind, as it is operated upon by countless motives, known and unknown; and this too, distinct from, and in addition to, the strong persuasion of

* Chap. above quoted, § 14.

the existence of this influence, we are obliged to doubt the reality of any such influence.

II. But we have only begun our objections to this doctrine. Another is this. There are frequent instances of good and pious men, who give as full evidence as any persons can, whatever their speculative belief may be, that they are moved by the influences of God's spirit; who exhibit, in their daily life, those Christian graces, which are expressly declared by St. Paul to be the fruits of the Spirit, namely, "goodness, righteousness, and truth;" * but who nevertheless assert that they are wholly unconscious of any such supernatural influences. Examples of this description are by no means rare. Our readers must be particularly unfortunate in their social relations not to know many such. And when we take this fact in connection with another, and one which we would state without invidiousness, that those who declare themselves to be the subjects of a supernatural influence, are not always superior to those just mentioned in those moral and religious qualities which are declared to be the scriptural evidences of the spirit of God, but on the contrary, are sometimes grossly wanting in them, the fair inference from these united facts seems to be, that the argument from *experience*, so far as it depends on *testimony*, labors for want of proof. For which is more rational, to believe that they who give the only scriptural proof, namely, that of "fruits," of their being moved by a divine influence, are in an error; or that those who give far less or no such proof of the supernatural presence of the Spirit, are in an error?

III. And this naturally leads us to a third objection with which the doctrine under remark is fatally encumbered. Those who assert themselves to be thus supernaturally enlightened by the spirit of God, *and who have equal claims to be believed*, often take irreconcilably different views of the same subjects, and of those also, which are of the highest import: such for example, as the character of God; of Christ; of human nature; of the terms of pardon and acceptance of sinners. This is a notorious fact. But can we believe that the true spirit of God speaks a double language? that it inspires one man with one set of truths, and another man with a different one? Since, then, these alleged supernatural influences of the Spirit

* Eph. v. 9. See also Gal. v. 22, 23.

lead to conclusions opposed to each other, and this is obviously the fact; and since the evidence in one mind is as strong as the evidence in another, and none has a right to claim a preference with respect to his peculiar light; and since, yet further, there is no common criterion by which the claims of both are to be tested, must it not be that endless and inextricable confusion must follow from the reception of this doctrine? Is, then, the spirit of God a spirit of discord?

IV. We are constrained to reject this system of supernatural influences, because, in the fourth place, it is opposed to all that we know of God's moral government. Every thing that takes place in His providence, is produced through the agency of means or second causes. "Not seldom, a long and circuitous train of them, the connections and combinations of which it is not in our power to trace, conceals from our view the spirit that guides, and the power that effects the whole. Nor is it only great events, and the accomplishment of great purposes, that we are to trace to the agency of the spirit of God. It extends not less to the common provisions and constant occurrences of life; to the food by which our life is supported, and every provision by which it is made comfortable. These are the gift of God; not directly, not independently of our exertions, nor without the exertions of others, but by employing them both. God is also the preserver of our lives, and is to be acknowledged in all the common as well as the uncommon exigencies of our being. Not, however, by immediate acts of power and a direct agency is this done, but by the instrumentality of an infinite variety and complicated system of means. Of these means, our own exertions, and the assistance of others, constitute an essential and a principal part. If they are neglected or withheld, the protecting care of heaven is withheld. We perish. A miracle is not wrought to save him who takes no care to save himself." * But if God, in impart-

* This quotation will be recognised as an extract from Dr. Ware's "Letters to Trinitarians and Calvinists." Letter VI. pp. 111, 112. Cambridge, 1820. We would take this opportunity of observing, that these Letters of Dr. Ware exhibit a model of the temper and spirit with which religious controversy should be conducted. The Letter above quoted may be cited as a specimen of the whole. The conscious yet quiet power, with which the argument of his opponent is examined, what is irrelevant in it laid aside, its just strength and point allowed, and then fairly met and answered, are truly admirable.

ing his spiritual influence to the mind of man, acts directly, without any such agency of means, in some indiscribable, incomprehensible, and miraculous way, then it is an act of omnipotence, which is without a parallel in His whole universe besides; it is without those characteristics of His agency, which mark his doings in all things else; it is opposed to all those analogies which run through all His moral superintendence of man. And all this, moreover, is done, as we shall soon show, without any adequate call or cause, unnecessarily and gratuitously. Now we cannot but think that this view of the subject presents a valid objection to the doctrine under discussion. We must conclude that a system which involves such a departure from the usual course of God's providence, and this for no adequate, and even for no necessary and important cause, should be received with much hesitation and doubt.

V. We cannot receive the doctrine of the supernatural influences of the Spirit, because, in the fifth place, it supposes a miracle to be wrought in the minds of men, when no miracle is needed. It implies an altogether gratuitous use of divine power. In the very constitution of our minds, God has made provision, as we have already observed,* by which he can lead them to any result, by those influences, to which, in their natural operation, they are or may be subjected. The provision, it will be remembered, is this. The order in which ideas and emotions arise within us, and the circumstances which may give them vividness and intensity, are often wholly unknown to us. This order and these circumstances, therefore, may be altered or interrupted by the ordinary influence of God upon the mind, without our being conscious of the peculiar operation of this influence, and without our being able to discern it as working separately from the natural operations of the intellect, though, at the same time, we profit by its agency. If this be so, and to deny it, is to deny one of the most obvious facts in the philosophy of the human mind, a fact of which any man may be assured by one moment's reflection; if this be so, then is it not gratuitous to suppose that the miraculous influence of the Spirit of God is necessary in the conversion of men from sin to holiness? — that he takes us, without any necessity for it, out of a moral dispensation of government, and puts us into a miraculous one?

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* See Christian Examiner for January, 1835, p. 315.

VI. We object to this doctrine of supernatural illumination, in the sixth place, because it renders unimportant or useless the ordinary means of improvement, which God, in his goodness, has put into our hands. What is the object of all the instruction of nature, providence, and of the Jewish and Gospel dispensations? What is the use of all the moral machinery which God established at first, which has been continued in operation, through all ages, and is, at this moment, producing its appointed results in every thing around us, and in us. Is it, or can it be any other than the improvement of man's moral and religious nature; the advancement of that spiritual part of his being which shall bring him into a nearer likeness to God, and prepare him for the holiness and happiness of the eternal world? If this be not the design of these means, what are they designed for? But if this be their design, by the appointment of God, shall we venture to say, that they are not adequate to accomplish their end? — that their most successful operation is yet a failure? Yet it is to this extent that the system under consideration reaches; since the change to be wrought in us, is not one which can be effected by the use of these means, but is expressly said to be one "totally different, not only from every thing that natural men experience, in degree and circumstances, but also in *kind*, and is of a nature vastly more excellent." What a piece of solemn trifling, then, it is to offer motives and means of Christian improvement to men, when they are so utterly ineffectual in accomplishing their object? What works of supererogation, how vain, how worthless, are our sabbaths and sanctuaries, our religious meetings, our instructions and prayers, and all the ordinary means of religious improvement? It is not enough, then, that God has given us hearts to feel, and minds to know; manifestations of Himself in His wondrous frame of nature; the lessons of His providence every day and every hour; and, more than all this, His blessed Gospel; the instructions and example of His Son; the aids of His good Spirit to coöperate with all our good efforts! — All this is unavailing to lead us to Him in humble faith and child-like trust, until some strange and unaccountable and absolutely miraculous influence is communicated to the mind, in some equally strange, unaccountable, and miraculous way!

VII. Our next objection to the doctrine under remark seems to us to be decisive, even though it stood alone. It is, that the effects, which are relied upon as proof of the supernatural illu-

mination of the human mind, by the Spirit of God, may all be accounted for on principles strictly natural. It will here be seen that we meet the argument in favor of this doctrine on the ground where its advocates are most willing to place it. They confidently, and doubtless with entire honesty and self-conviction, appeal to the alleged effects of the Divine Influence, as being decisive evidence of its supernatural character. Now, if we can show, or make it appear probable, that these effects have no just claim to this distinction, then this part of their argument will be found to be untenable.

We regret that our limits will not permit us to go into much detail on this part of the subject, since it is one of great practical importance in itself, and comprises the true explanation of all those mental phenomena which are thought to be miraculous.

Among those influences, whose effects, combined in various modes and degrees, exhibit the results which are considered to be supernatural are the following: — That peculiar constitution of body called temperament, by which persons are predisposed to be gloomy, timid, mystical, austere, ascetic, liable to great excitement and great depressions of feeling, without any adequate cause; — Education, in its broadest sense, including the education of circumstances, the unsuspected influence of parents, relatives, friends, and associates, and the moral and religious atmosphere which is habitually breathed; and Education also, in its stricter sense of direct instruction, including the lessons at a mother's knee, at the school, at the college, the tasks that are studied, the books that are read, and all the specific means of moral suasion; — the power of strong belief, to create, so far as almost any mere state of mind is concerned, the thing believed; — imagination, with all its transforming power, especially when it is excited, for the first time, by religion apprehended as a reality, and associated with sensible images of the future destiny of the undying soul; — the countless influences of association, by which, we know not why or how, certain places, persons, times, and events appear to be fraught with a mysterious interest and an inexplicable connexion; — the strange and unexpected concurrence of circumstances, which, by an agency not our own, lead to some deeply affecting result; — peculiarities of the individual, which make him, or seem to make him, an exception to all known laws; — the unsuspected influence of an impatience of being thought less susceptible

than others; — those frauds, pious and impious, which we are always liable to practise on ourselves, where deep feeling, religious or not, is concerned; — all these, and various other causes purely natural, but which we cannot now stop to enumerate, will be found to produce, or enter into, or affect, those mental states, which are generally believed to be the result of an immediate supernatural effluence of the spirit of God. And when we take into view the *Means*, which with such devoted and skilful zeal are frequently used to effect this desired change in the mind, — such as the continual solicitations; the earnest and impassioned appeals which are directed to the imagination and the passions; the prayers, tears, and beseeching looks of anxious friends; the use that is always made of that natural sympathy which darts, like the electric fire, through crowds of those who are assembled for a common object, and which makes each experience the concentrated emotions of all; the more than scenical artifice, shocking as the thought is, and the elaborate arrangement, we had almost said, the trick of arrangements, which are used, doubtless with the best intentions, but still used, to affect the mind in a certain prescribed way; — when we consider the nature of those *Doctrines* which are commonly associated with that of a supernatural change, and how appalling they must be to a mind which receives them as scriptural truth; — when, in fine, we recollect that there are always some persons, upon whom these influences may be brought to bear with a peculiar force, such, for example, as those, who from their natural openness to impression, or from the effects of disease, or from a consciousness of guilt, which is a much more deeply seated and more widely spread sentiment of our nature than is ordinarily supposed; or who, from self-dissatisfaction, or a feeling of spiritual insecurity, or an earnest desire of spiritual advancement, or a yearning after pardon and hope and help from on high, or from any other exciting cause, are predisposed to be powerfully affected; — we can have, we think, but little difficulty in tracing the change, which is thought to be produced by the supernatural influences of God upon the human mind, to causes strictly natural. The wonder is, — not that confessedly great effects are produced, — but that they are not more frequent and more tremendous and overwhelming. What reason is there, then, for considering these results as being out of the ordinary course of nature? What warrant is there in reason or in revelation to multiply

miracles without a cause? And, since it was just now shown that, as the manner in which the Spirit operates upon the mind does not necessarily imply that it should be supernatural, so, from considering the effects produced, we see no reason for concluding that they are, in fact, supernatural; what ground is there for believing that any supernatural influence of divine power whatever is exerted in the production of the alleged effect?

It may not perhaps be necessary, but, that we may illustrate yet more clearly our view of this subject, we shall proceed to show the application of the principles here laid down, to the explanation of one or two individual cases of alleged supernatural illumination; and, for this purpose, we shall select those which are the most authentic and unquestioned.

We suppose, that the case of JOHN BUNYAN, author of "The Pilgrim's Progress," will be admitted to be one of the most signal of this description. But, if we look narrowly into the history of his inward "experiences," as he himself has recorded them, we shall find little proof of their supernatural character, and shall be led to conclude that he was only, as his biographer Southey calls him, a "glorious dreamer," after all. We shall trace, in a few words, the religious changes of his mind; and in doing this, shall use, as far as possible, his own strong and descriptive language.

He was born under circumstances extremely unpropitious to all moral and mental culture. He was, he tells us, "of a low, inconsiderable generation; my father's house being of that rank that is meanest and most despised of all the families of the land."* He learnt, indeed, "according to the rate of other poor men's children, but soon lost the little that he had been taught even almost utterly." His mind was of the most susceptible, enthusiatic, imaginative, and superstitious cast. In his very boyhood he was beset by horrible visions by night, and dreadfully compunctious visitings by day. "When I was but a child," he tells us, "but nine or ten years old, these did so distress my soul, that in the midst of my many sports and childish vanities, amidst my vain companions, I was then so overcome with despair of life and heaven, that I should often wish, either that there had been no hell, or that I had been a devil; supposing they were only tormentors; that, if it must

* We quote from the "Life of John Bunyan," prefixed, by Southey, to his splendid edition of "The Pilgrim's Progress." 8vo. London. 1830.

needs be that I went thither, I might rather be a tormentor, than be tormented myself." As he approached maturer years, he met with some providential escapes from death, which, in the retrospect, after his mind had received a more decidedly religious tone, solemnly affected him. He was married, probably before he was nineteen, to a woman who seems to have been of a kindred spirit; and the reading with her of the "Plain Man's Pathway to Heaven," and the Bishop of Bangor's "Practice of Piety," served to deepen his religious impressions. The principles of veneration and awe, which throughout were distinctive characteristics of Bunyan's mind, were, about this time, strongly developed, and, in consequence of his extreme ignorance, degenerated into the most ridiculous superstitions. "The high place, priest, clerk, vestment, service, and what else belonging to the church," filled him with profound reverence, and "he could have laid down at the feet of a priest, and been trampled upon by them, their name, their garb and work did so intoxicate and bewitch" him. The unsoundness and nervous debility of his mind at this period are obvious from a variety of anecdotes. We cannot stop, and have no desire, to relate them, and shall merely make such a reference to them as may be necessary for our present purpose. Thus, while engaged one Sunday, in a noisy sport, it seemed to him as if a voice from heaven suddenly darted into his soul, and said, "Wilt thou leave thy sins, and go to heaven? Or have thy sins and go to hell?" "At this," he continues, "I was put to an exceeding maze; — and was as if I had with the eyes of my understanding seen the Lord Jesus looking down upon me, as being very hotly displeased with me." It happened, "about this time, as he stood at a neighbour's shop-window, cursing and swearing and playing the heathen, after his wonted manner," that the reproof of a dissolute woman, on account of his profaneness, so impressed him, that he ever afterwards relinquished this sin. His childish love of bell-ringing, for which his conscience rebuked him; and his yet more childish fears that, in consequence of merely going to look at the ringers, one of the bells would fall upon him directly; or that it should hit him by a rebound, in its descent, as he was sheltering himself under a beam; or that, finally, the steeple itself, bells and all, as he stood in the door-way, would fall upon him, as a judicial punishment for his sinful and presumptuous hankering after this vain practice of bell-ringing, — are examples of the

diseased condition of his nervous system, and highly excitable state of his feelings.

We recount these things merely to show the spiritual idiosyncrasies of Bunyan's mind. We profess ourselves admirers of his genius, and think, with his biographer, Southey, that his "character would be imperfectly understood, and could not be justly appreciated, if this part of his history were kept out of sight. To respect him as he deserves, to admire him as he ought to be admired, it is necessary that we should be informed, not only of the coarseness and brutality of his youth, but of the extreme ignorance out of which he worked his way, and the stage of burning enthusiasm through which he passed,—a passage not less terrible than that of his own Pilgrim in the Valley of the Shadow of Death." The circumstances, by which this enthusiastic stage of his progress was marked, we cannot now particularly dwell upon. It seems to us of very little importance what they were. The balance of his mind, at no time well poised, was now almost entirely destroyed. Bunyan never but imperfectly possessed the power of distinguishing what was purely imaginary in the various states of his mind, from what was real; and, in the dreadful mental conflicts which now awaited him, he possessed this power less than ever. His first notion of a "new birth" and its kindred doctrines seems to have been derived from the talk of some "poor women," which he overheard as he was "tinkering in the streets of Bedford." "They were to me," he says, "as if they had found a new world, as if they were people that dwelt alone, and were not to be reckoned among their neighbours." He now read the Bible with "new eyes." He began to take delight in St. Paul's Epistles, which "before he could not away with." He was "put to his plunge" in regard to the question, whether he had faith or not, and believed the only way in which he could be certified of this was by working a miracle. In this, as we have shown above, his inference from his principles was consecutive and rational. He was, however, withholden from trying the experiment by the equally rational fear that he should fail, and if so, "then to be sure he had no faith, but was a cast-away and lost." He had now a vision, in which the happiness of the sanctified was presented to him, and in this we perceive the seminal principle of "The Pilgrim's Progress." He was next driven to the very verge of madness by doubts concerning his being one of "the elect." But, while

he was even "giving up the ghost of all his hopes," he was encouraged by a text of Scripture which suddenly occurred to him. Then a fear arose, "whether the day of grace were not past." "What," said he, "if the good people of Bedford who were already converted, were all that were to be saved in those parts?" A very rational inquiry indeed, for one who believed in "special grace," as he did. But he was again comforted by a passage of Scripture, which occurred under singular circumstances. Then came another and a sadder fear. It was a doubt whether he was "called." He found new depths of corruption in his wicked heart. "Sin," he says, "would as naturally bubble out of it as water from a fountain." "I was sorry that God had made me man." But now the dawn of a more permanent comfort began to appear. From this deep distress and anguish he was relieved in a very singular manner. It was by a sermon on the text from *Solomon's Song*, "Behold thou art fair, my love; behold thou art fair." This recurred again and again, twenty times together, to his mind. "Then," says he, "I began to give place to the Word, — and now I could believe that my sins should be forgiven me." "Surely I will not forget this forty years hence. But alas! within less than forty days I began to question all again."

We must excuse ourselves from following with much particularity these mournful details of the rush and subsidence of over-excited feeling, — these deplorable aberrations of a mind, in many respects, eminently gifted. He heard subsequently, what he deemed to be a supernatural voice. He thought himself to be possessed by the devil; "he was bound in the wings of temptation, and the wind would carry him away." He felt "the enemy behind him pulling his clothes." He was taught by his minister, Mr. Gifford, that his belief must be confirmed by a particular revelation from heaven, and this he at length persuaded himself that he had received. But, in the midst of these celestial evidences of the reality of his faith, he had a more fearful trial still, and most fearfully does he describe it. It was a suggestion of the "Tempter" to "sell Christ"; to this, after a horrible conflict for a year, he believed himself to have yielded; "and down fell I, as a bird that is shot from the top of a tree, into great guilt and fearful despair." From this he was relieved by a "noise of wind" upon him, speaking as in an articulate voice a comforting passage of the Bible. In three days, however, he began to despair, and was again comforted

by what he deemed to be an unearthly voice; and when this "supportation," as he calls it, began to fail, on having recourse to prayer, the words, like an echo, returned upon him, "I have loved thee with an everlasting love." In such conflicts, to use his own language, "Peace would be in and out, sometimes twenty times a day; comfort now and trouble presently; peace now, and before I could go a furlong, as full of fears and guilt as ever heart could hold." And, finally, to close this melancholy history, after praying for a direct sign from heaven, and having, as he thought, received it, by the "*breaking in upon* his mind of a certain text of Scripture, he was then as though he had seen the Lord look down from heaven upon him, through the tiles." "And now remained only the hinder part of the tempest, for the thunder was gone past; only some drops did still remain." And when one day, in a field, he was thinking of the words, "Thy righteousness is in heaven," "Methought withal," he says, "I saw with the eyes of my soul, Jesus Christ at God's right hand, ... there I say as my righteousness." "Then his chains fell off in very deed;" and, though not wholly freed from subsequent doubts and difficulties, "he was loosed from his affliction, and his temptation fled away."

Such was the alleged supernatural illumination of JOHN BUNYAN. It is an authentic account, for, in all its leading facts and circumstances, it has been derived from himself, and is here given chiefly in his own words. We wish now to try the force of our argument by an application of it to his case. If, then, the mere conviction or persuasion of the mind, the mere belief of any fact, independently of all the usual sources of evidence, is to be received as sufficient proof of the reality of that fact, then we are bound to suppose that the mind of Bunyan was supernaturally illuminated; since no man was ever more thoroughly convinced of this than he, and there is no man, who, on account of entire probity, conscientiousness, sanity, and sound sense on all other subjects, is more worthy of credit.

But if, on the other hand, we are authorized to examine this case by those rules of evidence and those principles of investigation, which govern us in ascertaining the truth of all other alleged facts, we think there will be little need of resorting to this violent supposition of a miraculous agency in accounting for the peculiar state of Bunyan's mind. His temperament

was naturally extremely nervous and morbidly excitable. His conscience was so tremblingly alive that he was continually accusing himself of sins, of which, in a more healthy state of the intellect, he must have known he was guiltless. Veneration, reverence, and the allied sentiments, which connect the soul with the unseen, the future, and the eternal, were very early and fully developed; but, in consequence of his utter ignorance and his habitual sense of guilt, degenerated into superstition at once the most ridiculous and lamentable. The circumstances of his life all tended to inflame and exasperate these natural defects, while the reflective powers, by which alone they could have been neutralized and controlled, remained comparatively inert. He lived in an age, "in which hypocrisy was regnant, and fanaticism rampant throughout the land;" and, finally, to stamp and seal the religious character of his mind, he became a convert to views of Christian faith, which were peculiarly adapted to fix and fill his sensitive, guilt-stricken, and highly imaginative mind. These views recognised as a distinctive principle of belief the doctrine of immediate revelations from heaven; and receiving this, as he did, with an undoubting faith, is it strange that he should seem to himself to realize what he thus believed to be true? He lost, at times, if indeed he ever possessed, as is obvious to every reader of his life, and as his most intelligent biographer asserts, and as he himself confessed, the power of distinguishing things real from things imagined, or things *objectively* from things *subjectively* true; and is it wonderful that he should think he perceived what had no existence but in his own vivid and creative fancy, and that the visions thus bodied forth should take the "form and pressure" of the images preëxisting in his own mind? We hold, then, that Bunyan, so far as these miraculous impressions and communications are concerned, *is not to be believed.* Sincere and self-convinced, without doubt he was; we call not his veracity in question, and we think he was peculiarly free from that unfortunate mixture, that spiritual *amalgam* of fraud, half-sincerity, self-deception, pride, hatred, and the kindred brood of malignant feelings, which ordinarily go to make up the vulgar fanatic; — still we maintain that it is competent for us to go beyond the record of his "experiences," and look into the causes which produced them. And if we do, we shall find no reason, nor, as we think, the least authority, for believing that they were the results of any causes but those which were purely and strictly natural.

We intended in like manner to analyze the alleged spiritual illuminations of *Newton*, the well known friend of Cowper, and to him the most unfortunate of intimates; of *Wesley*; and of *Whitefield*. But we suppose it cannot be necessary, and our limits do not admit of such a detailed and minute examination as would be deemed fair and necessary by those who have any doubts on this subject. But there is one other example which has peculiar claims upon our notice, since it is that of a man eminently distinguished for powers of logical analysis and acuteness of reasoning; of high and unquestioned authority in these matters even to the present day; and one of the ablest advocates of the doctrine we impugn. We scarcely need add that we refer to JONATHAN EDWARDS.

The first traits, that present themselves to us in contemplating the character of President Edwards, are an exceeding susceptibility to religious impressions, and a great tenderness and scrupulosity of conscience. These discovered themselves in very early life, and marked his whole subsequent career. "I had," says he, "a variety of concerns and exercises about my soul from my childhood; but had two more remarkable seasons of awakening, before I met with that change by which I was brought to those new dispositions and that new sense of things, that I have since had. The first time when I was a boy, some years before I went to college, at a time of remarkable awakening in my father's congregation."* As he entered college when he was about twelve years of age, his first "season of awakening" must have been in his very boyhood, probably when he was seven or eight years of age. "I was then very much affected for many months, and concerned about the things of religion and my soul's salvation." "I was abundant in duties," prayed "five times a day in secret," and "spent much time in religious talk with other boys." "I built a booth in a swamp, in a very retired spot, for a place of prayer," and "besides had particular secret places of my own in the wood, where I used to retire by myself, and was from time to time much affected. My affections seemed to be lively, and easily moved, and I seemed to be in my element when engaged in

* "Life of President Edwards," prefixed to the edition of his works to which we have referred above, Section III., entitled "Some Account of his Conversion, Experience, and Religious Exercises, written by Himself." This has been republished as a tract, by the American Tract Society, and is held in great repute by the large denomination of Christians to which Edwards professedly belonged.

religious duties." But he backslided from this, and became "at times very uneasy," when, towards the close of his college life, he tells us, "it pleased God to seize me with pleurisy, in which he brought me nigh to the grave, and shook me over the brink of hell;" and he "was thus brought to seek salvation in a manner that he never was before." His "Resolutions," which were formed, probably, when he was about twenty years old, exhibit in a still greater degree, perhaps, than these extracts from the "Account of his Conversion written by Himself," the same proofs of exceeding openness to impression, mental conflicts, and scrupulousness on the subject of religion.

The circumstances of his life and education are next to be adverted to; and they will be found, taken in connexion with these peculiarities of his mind, to come in aid of that state of his spiritual being, which he deemed to be supernatural. His father was a clergyman, and by profession a rigid Calvinist, in that sense of the term which it bore a century ago; and he himself was brought up and lived and moved and had his being amidst "the most straitest sect of this religion." He seems to have *imbibed* this system of faith in his earliest years, and to have been thoroughly imbued with its peculiarities. And, notwithstanding the assertion of his biographer that he did not "confine himself, in his religious inquiries, to authors of any particular sect or denomination," we think it is very apparent from his own account of his religious experience, that his mind was too much preoccupied with the faith of his childhood, to give to any other system a fair and thorough examination. This is to be inferred from the fact, that while he was continually exercised in strong inward strugglings in the application of his peculiar form of belief to his own spiritual state, he seems never to have questioned its divine origin, or to have doubted whether it were really taught in the Bible. And how he disposed of the difficulties with which his system of belief is encumbered, when they did present themselves to his mind, may be inferred from the following statement: —

"From my childhood up," says he, "my mind had been full of objections against the doctrine of God's sovereignty, in choosing whom he would to eternal life, and rejecting whom he pleased; leaving them eternally to perish, and be everlastingly tormented in hell. It used to appear a horrible doctrine to me."

And how was a mind so astute, so discriminative, and so discursive, in a logical sense, as his, in regard to many other topics of inquiry, finally satisfied in respect to this apparently "horrible doctrine"? By research?—by comparing Scripture with itself?—by any new light from the inspired volume?—by argument?—by the discovery of any intermediate trains of thought, which before lay hidden?—by any of the rational or ordinary means of resolving doubts of this kind? No, there appears to be nothing of all this. His own account of the process is the following:—"But I remember the time very well, when I seemed to be convinced and fully satisfied, as to this sovereignty of God, and his justice in thus disposing of men, according to his sovereign pleasure. *But never could give an account how, or by what means, I was thus convinced.*" And after more than intimating that he ascribed this change to the "extraordinary influence of the spirit of God," he goes on to observe,—"However, my mind rested in it;" and "there has been a wonderful alteration in my mind with respect to the doctrine of God's sovereignty from that day to this." "The doctrine has very often appeared exceeding pleasant, bright, and sweet." Thus, according to his own showing, he became reconciled to a view of the divine government, "to which his mind from his childhood up had been full of objections," without being able to "give an account how, or by what means" this change was wrought. We deem this a remarkable instance of the effect of early associations and influences in producing an implicit belief, and also of the power of this belief to reconcile the mind to objections and difficulties, which, in respect to any other subject, would have appeared insuperable.*

Again, the mind of President Edwards, acute and penetrating as it was in metaphysical researches, was singularly dreamy and imaginative on the subject of religion. And this natural tendency was much aided by his physical constitution and habits of life. "He possessed," says the biographer above

* It may be worthy of remark, in showing the singular state of Edwards' mind in regard to the "sovereignty of God," that after declaring as above, (page 33d of his "Conversion," in the volume before quoted,) namely, that it "appeared as a horrible doctrine to me," he says, on page 41st of the same account, in apparent forgetfulness of what he had thus before stated, "God's sovereignty has *ever* appeared to me great part of his glory."

quoted, "but a comparatively small stock of animal life; his spirits were low." He passed the greater part of his time alone. He is said to have "commonly spent thirteen hours every day in his study." His usual relaxation, that was called specifically by this name, was a ride "to some lonely grove, where he would dismount and walk a while." In further proof of this prevailing cast of his mind, we refer to his "Account of his own Conversion." It is fraught with descriptions of his solitary musings, visions, despondencies, and raptures. We shall quote a few passages in illustration of this.

"I spent," says he, "most of my time in thinking of divine things year after year; often walking alone in the woods and solitary places, for meditation, soliloquy, and prayer, and converse with God; and it was always my manner at such times to sing forth my contemplations."

Again; "Once as I rode out into the woods for my health, in 1737, having alighted from my horse in a retired place, as my manner commonly has been, to walk for divine contemplation and prayer, I had a view, that for me was extraordinary, of the glory of the Son of God, as Mediator between God and man, and his wonderful, great, full, pure, and sweet grace and love, and meek and gentle condescension. This grace, that appeared so calm and sweet, appeared also great above the heavens. The *person* of Christ appeared ineffably excellent with an excellency great enough to swallow up all thought and conception, ... which continued as near as I can judge, about an hour, which kept me, the greater part of the time, in a flood of tears, and weeping aloud. I felt an ardency of soul to be, what I know not otherwise how to express, emptied and annihilated; to lie in the dust and to be full of Christ alone. . . . . I have, several other times, had views very much of the same nature, and which have had the same effects."

On another occasion, he tells us, — "An inward, sweet sense of these things, at times, came into my heart; and my soul was led away in pleasant views and contemplations of them. And my mind was greatly engaged to spend my time in reading and meditating on Christ, on the beauty and excellency of his *person*, and the lovely way of salvation by free grace in him. I found no books so delightful to me, as those that treated of these subjects. These words, *Canticles* ii. 1, used to be abundantly with me, '*I am the Rose of Sharon*,

and the Lily of the valleys.' These words seemed to me sweetly to represent the *loveliness and beauty of Jesus Christ.* The whole book of *Canticles* used to be pleasant to me, and I used to be much in reading it, about that time; and found, from time to time, an inward sweetness, that would carry me away, in my contemplations. This I know not how to express otherwise, than by a calm, sweet abstraction of soul from all concerns of this world; and sometimes a *kind of vision, or fixed ideas and imaginations*, of being alone in the mountains, or some solitary wilderness, far from all mankind, sweetly conversing with Christ, and wrapt and swallowed up in God. The sense I had of divine things, would often of a sudden kindle up, as it were, a sweet burning in my heart; an ardor of soul, that I know not how to express."

We hope we shall offend no serious mind by considering this as an excited day-dream; or by denominating a mind which could thus find in *Solomon's Song* the occasion and nurture of such raptures, a highly dreamy and imaginative one.

We make one other extract, not merely in illustration of the same fact, but on account of what has always seemed to us its affecting beauty of expression.

"Holiness, as I then wrote down some of my contemplations on it, appeared to me to be of a sweet, pleasant, charming, serene, calm nature, which brought an inexpressible purity, brightness, peacefulness, and ravishment to the soul. In other words, that it made the soul like a field or garden of God, with all manner of pleasant flowers; all pleasant, delightful, and undisturbed; enjoying a sweet calm, and the gently vivifying beams of the sun. The soul of a true Christian, as I then wrote my meditations, appeared like such a little white flower, as we see in the spring of the year; low and humble on the ground, opening its bosom to receive the pleasant beams of the sun's glory; rejoicing as it were in a calm rapture; diffusing around a sweet fragrancy; standing peacefully and lovingly in the midst of other flowers round about; all in like manner opening their bosoms, to drink in the light of the sun. There was no part of *creature* holiness, that I had so great a sense of its loveliness, as humility, brokenness of heart, and poverty of spirit; and there was nothing I so earnestly longed for. My heart panted after this, to lie before God, as in the dust; that I might be nothing, and that God might be ALL, that I might become as a little child."

In justice to our subject, we are constrained to go one step further in analyzing the alleged supernatural conversion of President Edwards, and observe that in every thing relating to his own religious experience the balance of his mind appears to have been destroyed. The traits already referred to seem to us plainly to indicate this, and that, to which we now allude, is, as we think, to be taken in further confirmation of the fact. We refer to the estimate he made of his own moral and religious condition. It is matter of notoriety what his character as a Christian really was. Differing as we do from him in religious opinions, it taxes not our own charity in the least, to bear our testimony to the truth, that if there ever was an earnest, single-minded, devoted follower of his Lord and Master here on the earth, it was President Edwards. What then shall we think of his power of moral and religious discrimination? — what, may we ask, shall we think of the *sanity* of his mind on this particular subject, when we find him deliberately writing and leaving on record such statements as the following?

"It has often appeared to me, that if God should mark iniquity against me, I should appear the very worst of mankind; of all that have been since the beginning of the world to this time; and that I should have by far the lowest place in hell."

"My wickedness, as I am in myself, has long appeared to me perfectly ineffable, and swallowing up all thought and imagination, like an infinite deluge, or mountains over my head. I know not how to express better what my sins appear to me to be, than by heaping infinite upon infinite, and multiplying infinite by infinite. Very often, for these many years, these expressions are in my mind, and in my mouth. Infinite upon infinite! Infinite upon infinite! When I look into my heart, and take a view of my wickedness, it looks like an abyss infinitely deeper than hell." And after further amplifying the thought, he goes on to say, "And yet it seems to me, that my conviction of sin is exceeding small and faint; it is enough to amaze me that I have no more sense of my sin." We are to bear in mind too that these things were written *after* his "conversion" had taken place.

We do not deem it to be necessary to pursue this analysis of the structure and tendencies of the mind of President Edwards any further, in order to show that there was nothing

extraordinary, still less miraculous, in what he considered his conversion. His extreme sensitiveness on the subject of religion, and his scrupulosity of conscience from his earliest years; his strong and vivid imagination; the circumstances and influences of the education to which he was subjected; the preoccupation of his mind, in consequence, with a system of faith, which prescribes a certain state of the feelings and affections as essential to salvation, and the power inherent in such a faith to produce in such a mind the results desired; his extremely retired course of life; his habitual musings, rapt reveries, and lonely self-communion; — all these circumstances, taken in connexion with his "small stock of animal life," and prevailingly "low tone of spirits," will be quite sufficient, we apprehend, to account for his peculiar state of mind and feeling, without resorting to the violent supposition of a miracle. To us, this result in which he rested, as the effect of a special and divine agency, not only appears easy and natural, but, in the ordinary course of things, inevitable.

We take leave of this important part of the subject, by observing, that what has thus been shown in reference to the cases of Bunyan and Edwards, can, as we believe, in like manner, be shown in regard to any other instance of conversion by an alleged supernatural influence. We have selected these as being notorious; and we are confident, that, in any similar case, if we could make a tolerably accurate analysis of those peculiar states of mind, deemed to be miraculous, viewed in connexion with those influences by which they have been produced, we should find that there is nothing in them that has any claims to a supernatural or even to any very remarkable character.

VIII. Our next objection to the doctrine under remark, is, that it has no support in the instructions of Scripture. We do not mean by this, that no miraculous illumination is spoken of or promised in the New Testament. But we do maintain that when it is spoken of or promised, that it was confined to the Apostles, or to those to whom they imparted it, and not, in like manner, promised to Christians of all subsequent ages. We hold that this supernatural agency or influence was given to meet a certain emergence, a particular case, and that, when this object was fulfilled, the agency or influence ceased. And we hold further, what all qualified to judge on this subject will admit, that it is offending against all rational and acknowledged

laws of scriptural criticism, to extend a promise which had only an immediate application, and a local and temporary fulfilment, to all times and to all ages. This, as we have had occasion more than once to say, is a point, which, strange as it may seem, has been almost wholly overlooked by the advocates of a supernatural influence of the Spirit, and it is to this circumstance, more perhaps than to any other, that the widespread and tenaciously rooted errors on this subject are to be ascribed. Edwards places his scriptural proof of the supernatural character of spiritual illumination in modern times distinctly and avowedly on the ground, that such an illumination was given to persons whose history is written in the Old and New Testaments.* And he is followed in this by all the leading authorities, on this point, down to this day. It is obvious, that a full elucidation of the position here taken would require an accurate examination of all those texts in which a divine aid is spoken of or implied throughout the New Testament. This comports with neither the design nor the limits of this Essay. We must, therefore, content ourselves with a general reference to these passages of Scripture. But, we think, no unprejudiced inquirer can fail to perceive, that in all cases, where a supernatural influence is spoken of or implied, it is to be restricted, by the circumstances of the case, to persons and objects, which have no parallel in subsequent times. We shall, however, for the purpose of showing the necessary tendency of this inquiry, and of making our meaning more fully understood, here advert to some of the more important of these circumstances, and illustrate the whole bearing of these remarks by a single example.

1. Thus, for instance, the miraculous illumination of the Spirit which was imparted to the Apostles, and by their agency to their earliest converts, was to authenticate the divine original of Christianity. This has now been done, and a miraculous aid for this purpose is no longer needed.

2. In furtherance of this general end, it was necessary that the Apostles, for the satisfaction both of their own minds, and of those persons to whom they were sent, should not only receive supernatural illumination from God, but that they should also be assured of this fact. Otherwise their teachings would rest merely on their own, that is, human authority.

* See particularly pages 60, 61.

But it is obvious, that, in these respects, the office and circumstances of the Apostles and their first disciples were peculiar, and that nothing can be inferred from them, in reference to the later periods of the church.

3. This divine assistance was originally given to the first heralds of the Gospel, not in accordance with the wishes or efforts of the individuals; but they spoke and acted as they were moved by the holy spirit. They appear to have been entirely passive in the reception of this miraculous influence. But under the Gospel dispensation, now that it is established, man is not permitted to consider himself as a passive recipient merely of any heavenly gift; but is called upon to seek, to ask, to toil, to coöperate with his own best endeavours to render available to his own benefit the provisions of a Divine Beneficence. He may only hope for aid to his own endeavours, and not a boon, by which self-exertion may be dispensed with.

4. These miraculous gifts appeared to be promiscuously imparted to the first converts to Christianity, without reference to their previous characters. Can they, in like manner, be expected to be promiscuously received in these later times?

5. Now that Christianity is established, the only assignable purpose of divine illumination is the religious progress, improvement, in one word, the sanctification of the individual. This illumination in the time of the Apostles was so little connected with the character of the individual, that we are expressly told that many who possessed it, in an eminent degree, should not be partakers of the salvation they made known.

On all these accounts, it seems to us, that a clear and palpable distinction is to be taken between the character and condition of the first heralds and converts of Christianity and its professors in subsequent times; so that it is wholly irrational and indefensible to infer, that what is applied to the one should also be ascribed to the other.*

In further illustration of these remarks we shall cite a single example. And we shall take one which is very often quoted by the advocates of a supernatural influence in the

* We refer the reader for a fuller examination of the differences between "The Ordinary and Extraordinary Operations of the Holy Spirit" to an Essay, thus entitled, by Thomas Ludlow, A. M. Lond. 8vo. 1797.

conversion of man to holiness, in what are called "revivals" at the present day.* It is the divine illumination imparted to the hearers of St. Peter's sermon on the day of Pentecost.

On this occasion the Apostles of our Lord were present in a certain spot, by his direction, and for a certain specified object.. They were then and there to be furnished with an especial power from on high to enable them to become the promulgators of a new religion. The presence of a supernatural power was authenticated by an open, visible, palpable miracle. The multitudes, on witnessing this miracle, "were all amazed and marvelled." Peter, availing himself of this roused and excited state of their minds, showed to them from their own sacred books, that it was Jesus whom they had crucified, who, "being by the right hand of God exalted, and having received of the Father the promise of the Holy Spirit, hath shed forth this, which ye now see and hear." This fact being thus authenticated, they could no longer resist its evidence, and three thousand on the same day renounced their Jewish faith and were baptized into the religion of Christ. These are the substantial facts in the case. But, in no single one of these particulars, is there any thing parallel or even analogous in those modern excitements which are now called "revivals of religion." There is not a particle of proof, that the miraculous agency was imparted, on this occasion, to any but the Apostles of our Lord. This influence, as we have said, was indicated by a palpable outright sign for a specific object. The change wrought in the minds of others was a change from the faith they had hitherto held, to a faith in Christianity, and not a "change of heart" merely; and it was not owing to any supernatural influence exerted upon their minds, but was a natural effect of the calm, solid, convincing argument of Peter on the facts there presented to their minds. And, finally, the whole drift of this appeal was totally different from those which are vehemently urged in the production of modern "revivals," since it was that Jesus, "*a man approved*

* Thus in the "Lectures on Revivals of Religion, by William B. Sprague, D. D.," before quoted, the author (p. 2) considers "the wonderful effects of the Holy Ghost on the day of Pentecost," and those "movements" which in these latter days we are accustomed to denominate *revivals of religion*, as pointed out by the same prediction of the Prophet Isaiah. The same position is again taken, p. 24, and indeed repeatedly throughout the book.

by God among you by miracles and wonders and signs, which God did by him in the midst of you," whom He "hath made both Lord and Christ." We cannot but be astonished, therefore, at that hardihood of assertion which attempts to authorize or palliate these modern movements by a reference to the transactions of the day of Pentecost. And we conclude this topic by stating, what no one authorized to judge on this subject, and whose mind is not trammelled by his preconceived opinions, will venture to deny, that there is not the least authority for supposing that the supernatural or miraculous era of our Religion extended an hour beyond the Apostolic age; but that it ceased when the great object for which it was appointed was secured, namely, the *establishment* of the religion of Jesus in the world; and that to expect, on any Scriptural authority, any supernatural interposition now, in the conversion of the soul to God, is an indication of strong delusion and of gross fanaticism.

There is one other general remark on the language of Scripture, in reference to this subject, which is too important to be wholly omitted, but which, for the reasons already assigned, we cannot stop to illustrate at length. It is, that, while the language is highly figurative, by which the spiritual change from sin to holiness is spoken of, it also contains two distinct thoughts; — first, that this change is very great and obvious; and, second, that it is effected in entire harmony and congruity with the natural powers of man. Thus it is compared to the flowing of a fountain; to the opening of the deaf ear; to the gift of sight to the blind eye; to the upspringing of hitherto inert seed; and to the progress of the wind, which is known only by its effects. And to adduce the most remarkable of all these emblems, this spiritual change is compared to a "new birth," and resurrection from the dead. In this it is plainly implied that a divine agency is the source of the change, that this change is great, but that nevertheless it is one which is in perfect agreement with the preëxisting nature of man, since it is only a new principle of vitality that is imparted, and not an essential change in his natural powers and capacities. Our spiritual nature is quickened, and endued with new life, and not another and a different nature given.

IX. Our concluding objection to the doctrine of a supernatural illumination of the spirit, at the present day, is derived from the natural and necessary *effects* of the doctrine. These will,

of course, differ according to the peculiar character of the mind which adopts it. Those, who have persuaded themselves that they have been the subjects of this supernatural illumination, will naturally, if not necessarily, be tempted to indulge in spiritual pride; to claim an irreverent alliance and communion with the Deity; and to arrogate to themselves an unwarranted superiority over those who they may choose to think are less favored than themselves with divine communications. — Those, on the other hand, who are more susceptible, timid, and self-distrustful, will find it difficult to realize that such a heavenly boon as this can be communicated to such as they; and pass life in hopeless despondency that the heavenly light, which is necessary to the salvation of all, is yet withholden from them. — And a third class, whose minds are of a stronger and hardier cast, but who have not been the subjects of any strong religious impressions, will be prone to infer that they may easily submit to forego what no efforts of theirs can secure, and thus recklessly give themselves up to a hardened indifference to all religion. So that the natural, if not the necessary effect of a belief in the doctrine of a supernatural influence as a prerequisite to salvation, as it operates upon different minds, will be spiritual pride, or spiritual gloom, or spiritual indifference. A doctrine, whose tendency is like this, should not be easily received as coming from God.

For these reasons, then, which, in the conclusion of this paper, we shall comprise in a brief summary, we feel ourselves compelled to reject the prevailing doctrine, that the divine influence is supernaturally imparted to the minds of men:

First. — Those, who believe themselves to be the subjects of this supernatural illumination, have not in their own minds, and cannot afford to others, any sufficient evidence of the fact.

Second. — Many persons who give the highest scriptural proof of their being moved by a divine influence, are yet conscious of no such supernatural impression on their minds.

Third. — This supernatural illumination is claimed by persons who hold extremely various and even opposite opinions concerning divine truth, but who have yet equal claims to be believed. Does it then belong to both? — if not, to which?

Fourth. — The kind of aid in question, is opposed to all the analogies of God's moral government, since it is represented as operating independently of the agency of means or second causes.

Fifth. — The doctrine implies that an uncalled for and gratuitous use of divine power is made, since, in the formation of our minds, provision is made for a divine access to them in countless ways.

Sixth. — It renders comparatively unimportant or useless the ordinary means of religious improvement.

Seventh. — The effects, which are relied upon as evidences of this divine illumination, may all be accounted for without resorting to this hypothesis. They are all resolvable into natural effects of natural causes.

Eighth. — The doctrine is unsupported by any sufficient authority in Scripture.

Ninth. — Its tendencies and frequent effects upon the characters, both of those who do, and of those who do not, receive it, are such as render the divine origin of the doctrine very questionable.

In our next Number, we shall be obliged to pursue a little further the unwelcome duty of showing what we consider to be the mistakes which prevail in reference to the manner, in which the divine influence is imparted to the human mind; and then conclude the discussion by presenting those views of the subject, which seem to us to be the correct ones.

Art. IV. — *The Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius Pamphilus, Bishop of Cesarea, in Palestine.* In Ten Books. Translated from the Original by the Rev. C. F. Cruse, A. M., Assistant Professor in the University of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia: Rev. R. Davis & Brother. New York: Swords, Stanford, & Co. 1833. 8vo. pp. 439.

The name of Eusebius will be ever honored, though less perhaps for his intrinsic merit, which, however, is by no means small, than on account of the position he occupies as the father of ecclesiastical history. He is not the oldest Christian historian, for he was preceded by Hegesippus, a writer, in all respects, it would seem, his inferior. But of Hegesippus only a few small fragments remain, preserved by the diligence of Eusebius. To the latter we are indebted for a multitude of facts relating to Christian antiquity, which but for him would have been buried in oblivion.

Of the early life of Eusebius little is known. The work of his biographer, Acacius,* who was his pupil and successor, has unfortunately perished, and from the few incidental notices of himself in his own writings we can glean but little. It has been conjectured that he was born about the year 270; though, if he had Dionysius of Alexandria, the famous Paul of Samosata, and the emperor Gallienus, for his cotemporaries, as some expressions employed by him would seem to imply,† we must assign to his birth a somewhat earlier date. Of his parents no certain tradition is preserved. Nicephorus, indeed, a writer entitled to little respect, makes him, upon what authority he does not inform us, a nephew of Pamphilus, and others have called him his son. But neither account is in the least probable. For Pamphilus, we know, he cherished a lively and constant affection, and after his death by martyrdom took his name; but, from the language of Eusebius himself, he appears to have stood to him in no relation of natural affinity.

It has been generally supposed, and probably with truth, that Eusebius was a native of Palestine, and perhaps of Cæsarea, where, as he informs us, in his Letter to his people from Nice,‡ he was instructed in the Christian faith, and baptized. In his youth he must have been a diligent student, for he had great store of such secular learning as a knowledge of Greek, probably his native tongue, and the only one with which he seems to have been familiar, placed within his reach. He was admitted to the priesthood by Agapius, whom he afterwards succeeded in the office of bishop, unless, with some, we assign an intervening episcopate of two or three years to Agricolaus.§ Among his fellow presbyters was Pamphilus, already alluded to, with whom he lived in the intimacy of the strictest friendship, and whose memory he never ceased to honor. Pamphilus, according to Photius, was a native of Phœnicia, and a pupil of the celebrated Pierius of Alexandria, called for his learning a second Origen. He was himself a warm admirer of Origen; he collected and transcribed his

* Socrates, Hist. Eccles. Lib. ii. c. 4.

† Hist. Lib. iii. c. 28; v. 28; vii. 26.

‡ Socrates, Lib. i. c. 8. Theod. Lib. i. c. 12.

§ This name is sometimes placed on the catalogue of the Bishops of Cæsarea between Agapius and Eusebius, probably, however, erroneously.

works, and while in prison employed himself, in conjunction with Eusebius, in writing his "Apology," of which five books were finished before his death, and the sixth added afterwards by his surviving companion. He was fond of literature, and assiduous especially in the study of the Scriptures. He led a strict and philosophic life; he was resolute and persevering in whatever he undertook, and was remarkable for his benevolence. He cherished the cause of education and knowledge, and is reported to have founded a school and library at Cæsarea, of the latter of which some memorials are said still to exist in the collections of Europe. He suffered martyrdom in the year 304, after an imprisonment of two years, during which he constantly enjoyed the solace of his friend's society. In token of his grateful respect and affection, the latter wrote his life in three books, now however lost, and in his "History" he seems never weary of naming him, and always in terms of tender regard or glowing panegyric.*

After the death of Pamphilus, as it appears, and before the end of the persecution called Diocletian's, Eusebius visited his friend Paulinus at Tyre, where, as he tells us, he was witness of the sufferings and constancy of the Martyrs.† He afterwards beheld the sad spectacle of the cruelties to which they were subjected in Egypt and Thebais,‡ and was himself thrown into prison. It was insinuated by his enemies that he escaped martyrdom at the expense of his integrity and honor as a Christian, but the reproach seems to have been undeserved.§

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* Hist. Lib. vi. 32; vii. 32; viii. 13. — De Mart. Palæst. c. 7, 11. — See also Socrates, iii. 7. — Jerome, De Vir. Illust.; also, Adv. Ruf., and Epist. ad Pam. et Ocean. 41 (al. 65.)

† Hist. Lib. viii. c. 7. ‡ Ibid. c. 9.

§ The insinuation, in fact, is destitute of all support, and the charge very improbable. It was not made at the time, nor until some years afterwards, when the part which Eusebius took in the Arian controversy had raised up to him bitter and scornful enemies. It was first brought forward, we believe, by Potamon, an Egyptian bishop, and an adherent of Athanasius. Potamon, a man accustomed to use the utmost license of speech, (as Epiphanius, on whom the authority of the anecdote rests, admits,) indignant at seeing Athanasius, at the Council of Tyre, stand in the character of a culprit, while Eusebius and others were seated as his judges, suddenly bursts out in a strain of loud invective. "Is this," says he, addressing Eusebius, "to be endured? Tell me, were you not with me in custody during the persecution? I indeed lost an eye in the cause of the truth, but you appear unmutilated in person, — you live and are sound. By what means did you

Tranquillity being restored, and Christians enjoying the smiles of imperial favor under Constantine, the churches, which had been thrown down by the rage of persecuting tyrants, were rebuilt with more than former splendor; festivities and dedications frequently occurred, and all was full of joy and promise. The change was, indeed, great; dungeons were exchanged for palaces, and the remembrance of past misery heightened the sense of present happiness. Eusebius depicts those halcyon days in warm and glowing colors.* He was now Bishop of Cæsarea, and for some time we hear little of him, except that he was present at the dedication of the

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escape from prison, unless you promised our persecutors that you would do the nefarious thing, or did it?" (Epiph. Hær. Melit. 68, § 7.) Now, it is to be observed, not one word of proof is here offered. All is vague conjecture. Eusebius had found means of leaving prison, how, Potamon does not know; the circumstance, he says, looks suspicious.

No more does Athanasius, the determined foe of Eusebius, venture to affirm that there existed any evidence that the reproach was deserved. He simply quotes a letter of some Egyptian bishops, in which it is intimated that he was *accused* by their confessors of having sacrificed. (Apol. II. in Arianos.) But could not Athanasius, who, during the time he was seated on the Episcopal throne of Alexandria, might be regarded as the most powerful man in Egypt, easily have obtained proof of the impious act, had it been committed? The disposition surely was not wanting. "Was not Eusebius," it is asked in the Letter, "accused of offering sacrifice to idols?" And what then? Were not you, Athanasius, accused of foul crimes, — and among others, treason, sacrilege, and murder? And were you not banished by your sovereign as a "pestilent fellow," the foe of all peace and order?

Origen, if we mistake not, before Eusebius, was reproached with having thrown incense to idols. The charge was easily made or insinuated, and appears to have been resorted to by the malignity of enemies to depress an adversary or rival.

Multitudes of Christians, and some who had been thrown into prison during the severe persecutions, escaped without any improper compliance. Why might not Eusebius have been of the number? It is certain that his fame stood high immediately after the persecution under Diocletian ceased, for he was very soon advanced to the bishopric of Cæsarea; he was afterwards invited to the see of Antioch; and, finally, enjoyed the confidence of Christians generally to the end of life, which could hardly have been the case had there been any good ground for the charge alluded to. We feel little hesitation, therefore, in pronouncing the insinuation of Athanasius and his friend Potamon a calumny.

*Lib. x. c. 1, 2, 3.

new and stately church at Tyre, erected under the auspices of his friend Paulinus, and delivered, on the occasion, as is generally supposed, though we have not his express assertion for it, the oration or address, which he has recorded at length in the tenth book of his "History."* We may suppose that he passed his time chiefly in studious retirement, among the volumes collected by Pamphilus, to which he made large additions, examining the records deposited in the other principal sees, and occasionally visiting Jerusalem, where there is said to have been a voluminous library; thus gathering materials for his great works, some of which, as his "Evangelical Preparation," and the "Demonstration," and possibly his "History," may have been composed before the Council of Nice. Within a few years, however, the Arian controversy broke out, and in its progress must have occupied no small portion of his time and thoughts. For a brief history of this controversy we must refer our readers to a former number.† The part which

* Cap. 4. It has been usual with ecclesiastical writers to apply to this discourse the epithets "fine," "eloquent," and the like. Even Le Clerc calls it "une belle harangue," and thinks that the author suppressed his name through "modesty." The general style of speaking and writing, at that time, however, was marked with bad taste, and the piece in question furnishes, in our opinion, no exception. It abounds with Eusebius' usual faults. It is exceedingly loose and immethodical, though not wanting in vivacity and warmth of expression. It is, too, full of the most extravagant panegyric, of which, however, Eusebius could be guilty on occasion. He exalts Paulinus, who seems to have been present and heard the whole, to a place next the Saviour of the world. The conclusion, however, is solemn and scriptural, and the whole breathes a strain of unaffected and fervent piety.

† Christian Examiner, New Series, Vol. VII. p. 298. Arius, a priest of Alexandria, maintained, in opposition to the extravagant and, in certain respects, novel doctrines of his bishop, Alexander, that the Son was inferior to the Father, that he had a beginning, and was created out of nothing. The first of these propositions was agreeable to the prevailing doctrine of Christians of his time, and had been asserted by all the old fathers of the church. In regard to the second, though these fathers used the term created in application to the Son, and spoke of him as having had a beginning, — that is, as being the beginning of the creation of God, as expressed in Prov. viii. 22, which was uniformly rendered, "The Lord *created me the beginning* of his ways to his works," — yet they supposed that he possessed from eternity a sort of metaphysical existence in the Father, that is, existed as an attribute of the Deity, his *logos*, reason, or wisdom; that it was, therefore, absurd to say that there was a time when he was not, since the

he took in it may be stated in few words. From first to last he was disposed to favor the Arians, either because he leaned to their opinions, though he seems not fully to have embraced them, or because, as some may think, he understood better than many of his cotemporaries the great principles of Christian liberty, which, however, may be doubtful.

Arius, after his expulsion from Egypt, found a warm and active friend in Eusebius of Nicomedia, who assembled a council in Bithynia, A. D. 323, which made an effort in his favor, but without success. Alexander still refused to restore him to communion. He then applied to some bishops of Palestine for permission to occupy a church, and perform among his adherents all the functions of a priest. The application was successful chiefly through the influence of Eusebius, the historian, who thus early embarked in the controversy.

At the Council of Nice, as Sozomen informs us, he occupied a seat on the right of the emperor, whom he addressed in a short speech.* Of the part he took in the deliberations of the council we have his own account in his apologetic Letter to his people, already alluded to. In this letter he inserts at

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Father was never without reason or wisdom. A little before the creation of the material world, as they generally asserted, this attribute was *thrown out*, or *prolated*, as it was expressed, that is, acquired, by a voluntary act of the Father, a separate being, became a personal agent, possessing individual consciousness. This was what they meant, when they spoke of the Son as made or begotten of the Father. They regarded him as a "hypostatized attribute." This metaphysical nicety Arius discarded, maintaining that though the Son was, next to God, the greatest and best of beings, ranking both in time and dignity as the first and chief of his creation, and immutable, yet he existed not from eternity, nor was made of things that were, but was called into being from nothing, by an act of the Supreme Infinite One, and that he did not exist before he was begotten, and moreover that Alexander himself formerly preached the same doctrine. Arius did not choose to retract; he was popular and much caressed; subtile in argument, keen, discriminating, of irreproachable life, exhibiting all the marks of warm and sincere piety; of a grave aspect, but possessing winning powers of conversation; and altogether a formidable opponent of his bishop, who, failing to convince his reason, assembled a council of neighbouring bishops, A. D. 322, and drove him and his adherents from the city.

* Eusebius himself simply says, "He of the bishops on the right" rose and addressed the Emperor, suppressing the name. — Life of Constantine, Lib. iii. c. 11.

length the form of a creed, which he proposed to the council, and which contained, as he affirms, the sentiments he had always believed and preached, and which, he adds, at first met the approbation of all present. Both the members of the council and the emperor, he tells us, appeared satisfied. But it was soon discovered, it seems, that the Arians could subscribe it, putting their own construction on its language. This, no doubt, Eusebius foresaw, and it was precisely what he wished. But such a creed was not what the majority, who were determined to cut off Arius from the communion of the church, wanted. They were for a time, it appears, at a loss for some epithet to apply to the Son, which the Orthodox could, and the Arians could not adopt, till it was at length discovered from a letter of Eusebius of Nicomedia, that the latter objected to saying that he was *consubstantial* with the Father, upon which they eagerly pounced upon the term as exactly suited to their purpose. It is true, the term had been condemned, about fifty years before, by the fathers of the Council of Antioch, in the case of Paul of Samosata; but that circumstance might not have been recollected, or if recollected, it mattered little, they might think. The word was convenient now, though it might not have been so then.

Constantine, who, from the first, had conceived the whole controversy to be of a very frivolous nature, and who was not disposed to stand on niceties of expression, which he probably very imperfectly understood, and who was, moreover, sincerely desirous to accommodate matters, readily adopted the word and advised the rest to do the same. Eusebius, after a good deal of hesitation, subscribed the symbol in its new dress, containing the obnoxious word and two or three others, which from his tenderness for the Arians, whom he was reluctant to condemn, he had avoided introducing into his proposed creed. He was, in consequence, afterwards accused by his enemies of insincerity and bad faith; for, though he seems to have avoided the use of expressions peculiarly Arian, he continued, as far as he could, without committing his own safety, to befriend the Arians, and his heart appears to have been always with them.

He seems to have himself thought, that some explanation was due to his friends for his consent to the act of subscription, and, in the letter he sent home on the occasion, he put the best face he could on the matter. He tells his people, that he

long resisted, but that his scruples as to the use of the terms, deemed exceptionable, ("*consubstantial*," and "*begotten, not made*,") were at length removed by the exposition given by the council of the sense in which they were to be taken, that is, as implying that the Son had no resemblance or community with the things made by him (as the agent of the Father in the creation of the material universe), that he is of *like* substance with the Father, though not a part of his substance, resembling him, but not identical with him. This explanation, though it would hardly pass for orthodox now, was consistent enough with the spirit of the Platonizing theology from Athenagoras down to the time of Eusebius, and with it he professed to be satisfied, and finally assented to the whole, as he says, for the sake of peace!

In regard to the anathemas at the end of the creed, he says that he felt no difficulty, as they only condemned the use of certain Arian expressions not found in the Scriptures. But Eusebius should have recollected, while holding this language, that the term the fathers of the council had adopted as a test of orthodoxy, and to the use of which he had assented, was also an unscriptural term, and on this very ground the Arians objected to it, and begged that it might not be imposed. They were ready, they said, in speaking of the Son, to employ all those terms, and ascriptions of dignity which were found in the Bible. The subject of their complaint was, that with this their opponents were not satisfied, but insisted that they should adopt expressions of which there was no example in Scripture or antiquity.

The question of Eusebius' sincerity or insincerity, we have no intention to discuss. It would be no difficult matter, we suppose, to defend him upon Dr. Paley's principle, or on the principle sanctioned, it seems, by some high Orthodox authorities among ourselves. He was willing to subscribe the propositions contained in the creed as "articles of peace," and no doubt believed them "for substance of doctrine." As explained by its friends, the creed probably contained no *doctrines*, which he did not admit, though in regard to the *philosophy* of some of those doctrines, he might, very probably, differ from them. If so, his conduct admits of as good a defence as that of most persons who have had to do with creeds and confessions, in ancient or modern times.

We could wish, to be sure, that he had manifested a little

more decision and firmness. It is difficult, we think, wholly to acquit him of the charge of having betrayed the cause of Christian liberty, either from personal timidity and love of ease, or, as we are willing to admit, from the desire, sincere, no doubt, but unavailing, to put an end to the unhappy controversy which rent the church. The cause of Arius was the cause of religious freedom and the right of private judgment, and he should have been sustained therefore, at least so far as not to have been subjected to suffer on account of any supposed criminality attached to his opinions as such. Eusebius must not only have felt the wish, from his benevolent nature and motives of personal friendship, to protect him; but, from the rank he held among the learned and wise of his age, from his elevated views and undoubted liberality of sentiment, he might have been expected, if any, to have perceived the impropriety of imposing any restraint on freedom of thought, and by his conduct to have proved himself the enemy of uncharitableness and exclusion. By yielding, he lent the sanction of his name and influence to the measures of the exclusionists, generally his inferiors in all those qualities which give a title to respect; and the first general council, in conjunction with the "most pious emperor" Constantine, the first of the Cæsars who acknowledged the faith of the cross, left to the world a pernicious example of intolerance and bigotry, which subsequent times have but too faithfully imitated.

Arius was banished for a supposed speculative error, which those fathers chose to call "impiety," "blasphemy," and "madness"; his opinions, and the "very terms of them," were anathematized; his followers, by the command of the emperor, were branded with the odious name of "Porphyrians"; his books were ordered to be burned, and any person convicted of the attempt to conceal any one of them was to be punished with death.* To imagine that Eusebius approved of all this severity would, no doubt, be doing him great injustice. Yet he could flatter the emperor in terms of as warm and extravagant panegyric, as the most contemptible vanity could ask; and the very fact that he assented to the creed with the *anathematisms* appended, may be adduced as evidence that he had no correct notions of the principles

* Synodical Letter and Letters of Constantine. Soc. Lib. i. c. 8, 9.

of religious liberty, or wanted courage to defend them. To suppose the former would be the least injurious to his reputation; for how few, even now, after fifteen centuries have elapsed, among those too who would pass for enlightened, understand the true principle of freedom as regards the formation and expression of opinions. To attribute ignorance of it to Eusebius is only to admit that he was not superior to the wisest and best men of his age, or of most subsequent times. Touching the principle of religious liberty, in its practical application at least, his conduct will bear a favorable comparison with that of Sir Thomas More. We wish it were as easy to acquit him of the charge of irresolution and timidity, as to find an apology for his imperfect conception of the great doctrine of Christian liberty.

The weapons employed by the consubstantialists at the Council of Nice were soon turned against themselves. Eustathius of Antioch, by some placed at the head of the council,* and who was one of the main pillars of orthodoxy, had, by his violence, rendered himself exceedingly obnoxious to the moderate party, and especially to the bishops of Palestine. He accused Eusebius of Cæsarea of having violated the faith of Nice. Eusebius repels the charge as a calumny, and Eustathius in turn fell under suspicion of heresy, having, as it was said, gone over to Sabellianism.† A council was in consequence assembled at Antioch, A. D. 330, by which he was deposed, as some of the old writers would have us believe, for his Sabellianism, but, as others say, for immorality.‡ The emperor, whose zeal for orthodoxy seems to have now considerably abated, and who, as we may believe, had conceived a dislike against Eustathius, on account of some ignominious treatment which his mother Helena was reported to have received from him, confirmed the sentence of the synod and sent the bishop into exile. The Orthodox raised a clamor, which is still propagated against the council, as guilty of injustice to Eustathius; yet, admitting the least important of the

* The honor of addressing the emperor in the name of the council, generally assigned to Eusebius of Cæsarea, has been disputed in favor both of Eustathius of Antioch, and Alexander of Alexandria. Du Pin would have Hosius the president. — Nouvelle Biblioth. art. *Eustathius.*

† Soc. Lib. i. 23. Soz. Lib. ii. c. 18.

‡ Soc. i. 24. Soz. ii. 19.

charges against him to have been substantiated, his deposition and exile could be defended upon the principle established at Nice, that is, that a man may be lawfully punished for supposed error of opinion. Eusebius of Cæsarea assisted at the council, and is blamed for it by those who can see nothing to censure in his conduct at Nice, except his dilatoriness in assenting to a measure, the effect of which was to deprive a man, against whom, more fortunate than Eustathius, the malignity of hatred never whispered the charge of immorality, of his home and country, and load his memory with reproach.

The bishops composing the council were desirous that Eusebius, the general consent and suffrage of the people being in his favor, should transfer his residence from Cæsarea to Antioch, and fill the vacant see; and to effect their object they petitioned Constantine to use his influence to induce him to comply. But he promptly refused, alleging as a reason an existing canon of the church prohibiting a change of sees, and the emperor commended his decision with many praises of his modesty and worth, in Letters still preserved.*

The storm next fell on Athanasius, who was condemned and deposed on several charges at a council assembled at Tyre, A. D. 335, where Eusebius sat among his judges. It was on this occasion the scene occurred to which we have already alluded, in which Potamon made himself so conspicuous. From Tyre, the bishops, at the emperor's summons, repaired to Jerusalem to dedicate the magnificent church recently erected there by his order. A delegation from the imperial palace was present with means, furnished by Constantine, for providing rich banquets and distributing money and garments among the poor. Numerous discourses were delivered on the occasion by eminent bishops present, and several, as Eusebius has not forgotten to inform us, by himself, to whom was "vouchsafed blessings," says he, "much above our deserts."†

The dedication happened on the emperor's *tricennalia*, or thirtieth year of his empire, as the Council of Nice occurred on the *vicennalia*, or twentieth, on both which occasions splendid festivities were observed. The tricennial oration which, it seems, was delivered in the imperial palace at Constantinople, by Eusebius, who repaired thither immediately after the dedi-

* Euseb. Life of Constantine, Lib. iii. c. 60, 61, 62.
† Ibid. iv. c. 45.

cation, is still extant, being appended to his "Life of Constantine." The emperor, during the delivery of the oration, "seemed like one transported with joy." So says Eusebius, who takes care to inform us that this was the second time he had made a speech in presence of the emperor in his own palace, having formerly delivered a harangue or panegyric on the holy sepulchre, to which Constantine insisted on listening in a standing posture; for "though we entreated him," says he, "to rest himself upon his imperial throne which was hard by, he would by no means be persuaded to sit," nor would he allow the speech to be discontinued, when it had run out to a great length, though "we were desirous to break off," but "entreated us to go on till we had ended our discourse." *

Eusebius, it seems, was often at court, and whether there voluntarily or in consequence of a summons from the emperor, appears always to have succeeded in retaining his good graces. On occasion of delivering the tricennial oration above alluded to, his presence with that of some other bishops, had been required to reply to the charges preferred against them by Athanasius, who had suddenly disappeared from the Council of Tyre, to make his appeal to Constantine in person. The appeal was unsuccessful. Athanasius was banished, and Eusebius returned loaded with imperial caresses.

He appears, indeed, to have been a constant favorite with the emperor, who esteemed him, to use his own expression, for his "learning and modesty," often wrote to him, encouraged and facilitated his researches, and confided in his fidelity and prudence. When he wanted fifty copies of the Scriptures transcribed with the utmost accuracy, for the use of his new churches at Constantinople, he applied to Eusebius as the fittest man in the empire to superintend the execution. He seems to have uniformly treated him with very marked respect, and his letters to him, and others in which he is named, and which Eusebius, from a vanity quite pardonable, if from no better motive, has preserved, certainly contain expressions of attachment apparently warm and sincere.

It is much to the credit of Eusebius, that enjoying, as he constantly did, the friendship and favor of Constantine, he does not appear to have used them for the purpose of selfish aggrandizement. Though he loved commendation, and was not

* Life of Constantine, Lib. iv. c. 33, 45, 46.

insensible to the voice of flattery, he does not seem to have been in other respects ambitious or coveting. We see no reason for believing that power or wealth had any peculiar charms for him. From all we can gather respecting him, we should infer that the praise of moderation, which Constantine bestowed on him, was, in this respect, at least, not ill deserved. He was evidently of studious, or, at least, of reading habits; and the numerous hours he passed in retirement among his books, we can readily conceive to have been among the happiest of his life.

After the events just referred to as transacted at Constantinople, tradition has preserved no remaining incident in the life of Eusebius. Socrates alludes to his death, without, however, specifying the time of it.* Constantine died A. D. 337, and Eusebius survived him long enough to pay a warm and grateful tribute to his memory, in what is termed a "Life," but which, as it has been observed, is more properly a panegyric, and died as early as the year 340, probably before.

We shall not undertake to give a complete catalogue, much less an analysis of the writings of Eusebius, several of which are lost. We will simply enumerate the principal, of which the number, magnitude, titles, and subjects, will give our readers some conception of his industry and maltifarious reading.

Passing over his edition of Origen's Hexapla, in which he had the assistance of his beloved Pamphilus, while in prison, we may place among his earlier works, "The Chronicle," containing brief notices of the history and antiquities of all nations and times, and a second part, called "Chronological Canons," a sort of epitome of the former. Of this work, the original Greek text is lost, with the exception of some fragments preserved in quotations; we have the second part, however, in the Latin version of Jerome. The work is generally spoken of as one of prodigious erudition and labor, but Scaliger, while he does justice to the author's great learning, pronounces it full of errors, and says, moreover, that what is most valuable in it is taken from Julius Africanus.†.

The "Evangelical Preparation," designed to expose the follies of Paganism, and show that Christians had good reason for abandoning it in favor of the Gospel, still extant in fifteen books, gives evidence of much reading, and an extensive

* Hist. Lib. ii. c. 4.

† Thesaurus Temp. — Proleg.

knowledge of antiquity. This was followed by the "Evangelical Demonstration," in twenty books, of which the first ten only are preserved. The Demonstration treats chiefly of the Jewish prophecies, which the author, conformably to the prevailing taste, generally interprets allegorically and mystically. The ten books of "Ecclesiastical History," commencing with the Founder of our faith, and terminating with the year 327, just before the assembling of the Council of Nice, may have followed. Appended to the eighth book of the History we have the "Martyrs of Palestine." The "Life of Constantine," the Letter to his people, preserved by Socrates and Theodoret, and the "Tricennial Oration," have been already mentioned as extant; to which we may add the work on "Hebrew Places," being a sort of historical and geographical dictionary of Palestine; Two Books against Marcellus; and one in reply to Hierocles, who had published an attack on Christianity, comparing Jesus Christ with Apollonius Tyanæus. He wrote, too, commentaries on several parts of the Scriptures, some of which are preserved.

Among his lost works, or works of which only parts, or fragments, or barely the titles are preserved, we may enumerate the "Life of Pamphilus," in three books; the "Apology for Origen," in six, of which the first only remains in the Latin translation of Jerome; Thirty Books against Porphyry, the loss of which is exceedingly to be regretted; the "Difference between the Gospels," designed probably to reconcile the discrepancies between the evangelical narratives, and Five Books on the Coming of Christ, both mentioned by Jerome; Commentaries on the Psalms, of which we have only a few fragments, pronounced by Jerome "most learned"; a Description of the Church, already referred to, at Jerusalem, with its ornaments, and the presents sent by the Emperor, dedicated to Constantine, and originally annexed to the "Life"; a "Treatise on Easter"; and several others, some of them of considerable magnitude, which it is unnecessary to enumerate.

His defences of Christianity partake of the defects of all his works, want of judgment and method. What Le Clerc has said of some of the ancient apologists, that they have "better refuted Paganism than demonstrated the truth of Christianity, and have mingled with good and solid reasons, proofs which appear of no weight when examined," is true of him. He has well refuted Paganism, but, like the old writers generally, he

relies in support of the truth of Christianity too much on fanciful expositions of the Old Testament.

He wrote, it will be perceived, upon some of the topics controverted among Christians, and particularly the Sabellian question, as in his books against Marcellus, in which he seems not to have preserved throughout his usual candor and moderation. Upon the great controversy of the day, however, he appears to have been intentionally silent, nor was the result such as to afford him any pleasure in the retrospect. He was too favorably disposed towards the Arians to take any pleasure in the circumstance of their defeat. Whether or not he was himself an Arian, is a point which has been contested in ancient and modern times. It is one, however, the thorough examination of which would require more space than we can allow to a topic, on which our readers generally can be supposed to take no deep interest. We will therefore dismiss it with two or three remarks.

That Eusebius was not Orthodox, that is, a *consubstantialist*, in the sense in which Athanasius understood the term, especially in his later years, is absolutely certain. The word, as we have seen, was not of his choice, nor to his taste, for it might imply what he did not believe concerning the nature of the Son. As the Platonists had used it, however, and as it might be understood to mean, not a *numerical*, but only a *specific* sameness, that is, *resemblance*, in which sense the fathers of the council, who seem to have been not a little perplexed in their attempts to define it, allowed him to take it, he consented, as before said, to adopt it. But, in this sense, it by no means excluded inequality and subordination between the Father and the Son. In these he firmly believed; and, if such belief constituted Arianism, all antiquity, as it has been truly said, was Arian. But it does not; for it leaves undetermined the origin of the Son, who, as Arius contended, was called into being from nothing, while his opponents, the consubstantialists, insisted on saying that he was *ineffably begotten.* Thus a person might believe that the Son was, from the time when he was begotten before the ages, a distinct being from the Father, and inferior to him, without adopting the distinguishing dogma of the Arians. This might have been the case with Eusebius. At all events he was willing to promise, that he would not in future say with Arius that the Son was *made out of nothing*, but would conform to the popular phraseology, and say with the

homoousians, that he was *ineffably begotten*. This we suppose was the amount of his orthodoxy. He certainly never dreamed, any more than Origen, of whom he is known to have been a great admirer, of admitting the equality of the Father and Son in any legitimate sense of the term, and he seems to have placed the Spirit among the things made by the Son.

We believe Dr. Jortin to be nearly right, when he says, that Eusebius "seems to have been neither an Arian nor an Athanasian, but one who endeavoured to steer a middle course, yet inclining more to the Arians than to the Athanasians:" * Athanasius, among the ancients, pronounces him an Arian; Jerome, "the prince of Arians;" and Nicephorus, "an Arian, and worse than an Arian." Others expressed themselves in similar, though not all in equally strong terms. Among the moderns, Cave, in his Latin and English Lives, and especially in the Dissertation subjoined to the former, attempts unsuccessfully to defend his orthodoxy against Le Clerc, who expresses his surprise that there should be people who pretend to deny that Eusebius was an Arian, if they have read his works, especially in the original.† Petavius has a formal argument to prove his Arianism. Du Pin, though he pronounces it great injustice to stigmatize him as an Arian, yet thinks it impossible to defend his orthodoxy, and confesses that it has been vainly attempted by Socrates, Sozomen, and "some modern writers." This we suppose is the prevailing sentiment on the subject.‡

Of Eusebius's general character as a man and a Christian, little needs be added to the incidental notices contained in the above sketch of his life. Those who have disapproved his opinions have united in ascribing to him all good qualities of

* Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, Vol. II. pp. 229, 230.

† Biblioth. Anc. et Mod., T. I. p. 270. "Mr. Cave," says Le Clerc, "étoit un homme accoûtumé non seulement à dissimuler, mais à dire le contraire de ce qu'il pensoit, par une mauvaise politique; ce qui a fait passer ses Histoires Ecclésiastiques pour des Légendes mitigées." Bibl. Anc. et Mod., T. I. c. iv. p. 19.

‡ Those who wish to see more on the subject may consult among other works, Jortin's Remarks, Vol. II. pp. 229–242; Le Clerc's Second Epistle, contained in the 3d volume of his Ars Critica; Cave's Lives Latin and English, with the Dissertation; Le Clerc, Biblioth. A. et M., T. I. p. 170; IV. 18; XVI. 80; XXVIII. 240; and Biblioth. Univ. et Hist., X. 479; Du Pin, Nouvelle Biblioth. art. *Eusebius*; and Petavius, Theol. Dogm., T. II. Lib. i. c. 11, 12. See also, "Veterum Testimonia pro Euseb. et contra Euseb.," which follow Valesius's Account of his Life and Writings, Reading's ed.

heart. His amiable disposition, his love of peace and quiet, his susceptibility to the tender emotions of friendship, his general moderation and candor to those whose views placed them in opposition to him, have been universally admitted. He was no friend to creeds and formularies made to entrap or oppress an adversary, or discourage freedom of thought. He never, as Du Pin has well remarked, labored to destroy Athanasius, or ruin his partisans, though he could not number him with his friends. He never abused his credit with the emperor, to elevate himself, and to pull others down; but employed himself for the good and advantage of the church, endeavouring to promote a spirit of accommodation and reunite parties. He was never, we believe, accused of a grasping, avaricious disposition, but appears to have been content with a moderate fortune, and the enjoyment of the calm pleasures of a studious life.

We have hinted at the prominent defects of his literary character. He is immethodical and deficient in judgment. He had accumulated vast treasures by study and reading, but wanted the disposition and skill to select, arrange, combine, and adorn. He had not the art of easy and connected narration. His style is frequently rude and negligent, sometimes perplexed and confused, and sometimes, when he strives to be eloquent, turgid or loaded with puerile ornaments, never graceful, polished, or grand. He had a vigorous and active mind, but, like most of his contemporaries, and those who had lived during the preceding centuries, he had not been trained to a habit of severe reasoning, and he had read the finished productions of Grecian genius without imbibing one particle of true taste.

But of his moral and intellectual qualities generally we have said enough. His character as an historian, however, merits further notice. He has collected and transmitted, as we have said, a multitude of facts and traditionary statements relating to the early condition and progress of our faith, and the character and writings of Christians, of which but for him no memorial had been now left. But the degree of credit to which he is entitled as an historian, may be regarded as a question not yet settled. This question we shall briefly discuss in a future Number.

ART. V. — *Essays on the Principles of Morality, and on the Private and Political Rights and Obligations of Mankind.* By JONATHAN DYMOND, Author of "An Inquiry into the Accordancy of War with the Principles of Christianity," &c. With a Preface by the Rev. GEORGE BUSH, M. A., Adjunct Professor of Hebrew and Oriental Literature in the New York City University; Author of the "Life of Mohammed," "Treatise on the Millennium," &c. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1834. pp. 432.

WE are under obligations to Professor Bush for the pains he has taken to introduce this work to the American public. We hesitate not to say that it deserves, far more than any other treatise we are acquainted with, to be considered an exposition of *Christian* ethics, — "a body of moral precepts most wisely adapted to mould the character, and to regulate the entire conduct of mankind." It is the result of an extensive observation of human life "in those spheres of action, which are seldom apt to attract the notice of the meditative philosopher," of much careful study of the writings of moralists, of profound thought, and intimate communion with the mind of Jesus Christ. The style of our author is also a recommendation. It is always perspicuous, often terse, epigrammatic, and forcible, and sometimes even highly eloquent.

Mr. Dymond was led early in life to notice the numerous evils, which beset society in consequence of the erroneous principles of action and the low sense of moral obligation, which prevail in the world, and the pernicious tendency of some of the popular treatises on the subject. Being himself a man of singular uprightness of mind (as we learn from a correspondent in England, who knew him intimately from his infancy to the close of his brief career), he was the more quick to perceive and deplore the crooked ways, which men, even men calling themselves Christians, prefer to the plain, straight way of right. The contemplation of sin and suffering impelled him to attempt their correction and relief. This was the origin of the work which is now before us. The design and tendency of the whole are to persuade Christians to adopt, in all the relations and circumstances of life, the only true and safe standard of moral action, namely the *expressed*, that is, as we should say, the revealed *will of God*.

We differ from the accomplished editor of the American edition of these Essays, who thinks our author has erred in leaving his system of morality to rest upon the precepts of Revelation solely, because these "have emanated from the highest authority in the universe." He would have had him assume, that these precepts are also obligatory "because they command that, which is in its own intrinsic nature eternally and immutably binding." When we first read the lucid and ingenious criticism in the Preface, the objection seemed to us a valid and important one. But further consideration has satisfied us, that our author has nevertheless done wisely. He commences his Essays with the acknowledgment, that it might be difficult to give a definition of moral obligation, that would be satisfactory to all. He no doubt perceived, that any disquisition on this point would only encumber his system with some of those "abstruse and metaphysical appendages," from all of which he meant it should be free. Availing himself, therefore, of the *consciousness*, which all that class of persons for whom he writes will readily acknowledge, that they are the subjects of moral obligation, and actually responsible to a superior power, he proceeds directly to the inquiry, "What is the rule of duty," — "the standard of right and wrong?" It was sufficient for his purpose, that man is, and knows himself to be, under an obligation to obey his Creator. To those who ask, "Why?" he suggests several answers, either of which might satisfy some. And we conceive he would have been perfectly willing to add the one, which his editor now proposes, but for its abstruse and metaphysical air. What can we, finite creatures, know of the "immutable and eternal qualities of actions," or of what Dr. Clarke would call, the "eternal and necessary differences of things?" Nothing more, surely, than the eternal and immutable One may see fit to teach us. And how else has he taught us, how else can we expect he will teach us so much on this point, as by the Revelation he has made of those great principles of moral action, which are embodied in the precepts of Jesus. An action is not any thing until it is performed, or rather, we should say, until the intention to perform it is conceived in the mind. When it is performed or intended, then it is right or wrong, according to its agreement or disagreement with the rule or principle of *right* action. What that rule or principle is, God can teach us, all must allow, incomparably better than we can ascertain it without

his special assistance. That he has so taught us, every Christian believes; and let it be borne in mind, that it is to Christians only that these Essays are addressed. It being granted that we have received an expression of the divine will respecting the rule of duty, we insist that we must also have received, at the same time, information of what God, in his infinite understanding, knew to be right. For, as he sees from the beginning to the end, comprehending all the connexions and dependencies of beings, and as he is benevolent, are we not compelled to believe, that, in prescribing those moral principles which are communicated in the Gospel, he had regard to the immutable qualities of actions? Consistently with his wisdom and goodness, he could not have been influenced by any merely temporary considerations, or by any partialities for individuals or classes of men, or indeed by any thing but a strict regard to what in his all-comprehending mind he saw to be *right*. Hence it is obvious, that we can derive more knowledge about the eternal and immutable qualities of actions from "the expressed will of God," than from any other source. If therefore, these qualities be the *ground* of moral obligation, as the editor considers them, even then it seems to us, according to his own argument, that in the present case the *rule* of duty and the *ground* of duty are coincident. For, if, as he argues, there be no difference between what is *right*, *meet*, or *fit*, to be done, and what *ought* to be done, then we contend that the precepts of Revelation ought to be obeyed, are obligatory, because we have the highest reason to believe them to be perfectly right; they have emanated from the highest authority, the only infinite understanding, in the universe.

The only question which any one needs to settle, before he adopts the standard of right and wrong, on which Mr. Dymond insists, is whether God has expressed his will to men respecting their duties. Now our author has written, we repeat, for those who are satisfied on this point, — for those who believe in the revelation by Jesus Christ. Such persons cannot consistently hesitate to acknowledge the moral precepts of Christianity as the standard of rectitude, — the true basis of a correct system of morality. We consider it the distinctive excellence of Dymond's system, that it rests upon no other foundation, than that which is laid in the Gospel, the precepts of Jesus being the chief corner-stone. For ourselves we are unable to conceive how he could have laid his corner-stone

deeper, unless there be some surer way to ascertain what is right, and therefore obligatory, than the revelation which God has made of his unerring views of right.

We very cordially agree with Professor Bush, that "it is surely important to establish, as far as possible, the identity of the dictates and promptings of our own rational nature with those of the revealed will of our Maker, and thus to invigorate the force of law by the verdict of the internal convictions of our own breasts." But we should be careful that we do not insist upon this any further than it is possible to be done. That man who will take nothing upon trust, — who will exercise no faith, — who will believe in the divine authority of no rule which he is unable to identify with the dictates of his own reason, can make but small advances towards "the stature of a perfect man in Christ Jesus." When may any one suppose his rational and moral nature to be so completely developed, that he can safely rely upon its dictates? Certainly not until he has faithfully used all the means, which God has granted him, for attaining clear perceptions and comprehensive views of the true, the right, and the good. Now, are not the doctrines and precepts of a divinely commissioned messenger, illustrated and enforced by his own perfect character, an important part of the means appointed for the intellectual and moral improvement of man? Christians profess to believe they are. Can any one, then, wisely deny their adaptedness to himself, until he has tested their efficacy by a faithful trial? "My doctrine," said Jesus, "is not mine, but his that sent me. If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God." The more exactly we obey, the more distinctly shall we perceive the wisdom of the divine commands. We are called to be "followers of God as dear children." Our career must be begun in faith, in a childlike, trustful temper. It will be cheered and invigorated, the farther we proceed in the divine life, by our personal experience of the true righteousness. Such is the spirit of Mr. Dymond's moral philosophy.

Throughout these Essays their author finds frequent occasion to expose the errors into which Dr. Paley is led by his favorite doctrine of expediency. The passing remark of Sir James Mackintosh,* respecting this shrewd thinker and clear

* A General View of the Progress of Ethical Philosophy, p. 181.

and beautiful writer, is, we think, remarkably just. "The practical bent of his [Dr. Paley's] nature is visible in the language of his writings, which, on practical matters, is as precise as the nature of the subject requires; but, in his *rare and reluctant efforts to rise to first principles*, becomes indeterminate and unsatisfactory; though no man's composition was more free from the impediments, which hinder a writer's meaning from being quickly and clearly seen." Uncertainty and vacillation are so inseparable from the morality of Expediency, as to make it unworthy of the confidence of any, who seriously intend to be the followers of Jesus Christ. "Whatever is expedient is right," say the utilitarians. "Whatever is right will be found to be expedient," is the faith of the Christian. The two propositions are far from being coincident. "Strictly speaking," says Paley, "that cannot be *evil* from which *good* comes." This seems to us to be speaking very loosely. Had the learned Archdeacon forgotten, that the sovereign disposer of events can bring good out of evil? Or would he have us believe, that a wicked action will be exonerated of the divine displeasure, because, in the providence of God, beneficial consequences may have followed from it? "It must needs be," said our Saviour, "that offences come, but woe unto that man by whom the offence cometh." The Almighty has sometimes overruled the worst intentions, so that they have become instrumental to the most desirable ends. In the history of our race, there are some remarkable illustrations of this peculiarity of the divine government. For example, the conduct of Joseph's brethren, in selling him into slavery because they hated him for his father's partiality, was a detestable deed. It was nevertheless made conducive to his preëminence in the Egyptian court. The trials and sufferings, to which it at first introduced him, humbled his pride, invigorated his virtue, and prepared him for the station he afterwards occupied, in which he was the blessed agent for rescuing from famine his father's family and the people of a vast empire. But was the deed of his brethren any the less evil in itself, because so much good came from it? Again, the treachery of Judas, and the unrelenting malice of the Pharisees, will ever be adduced as signal exhibitions of human depravity. Yet their wickedness gave the occasion for Jesus Christ to confirm the truth of his doctrines by the sacrifice of his life, and to illustrate in his own conduct the power of that

faith, which he enjoined upon his followers. By "wicked hands" he was crucified and slain; but his death was followed by his resurrection, that event which brought "life and immortality to light." Now, if the *beneficial consequences* of conduct are to be the measure, by which we estimate its moral worth, the unnatural sons of Jacob, and the ruthless murderers of our Lord must be accounted preëminently good. But such a decision would outrage common sense.

Our readers, no doubt, by this time perceive how cordially we agree with the author of these Essays in his opposition to the doctrine of Expediency. We have long since deprecated the tendency of Paley's principles as subversive of evangelical righteousness, — "the righteousness which is by faith." Yet these are the principles, which are inculcated, we believe, in most of our seminaries of learning, where attention is paid to the subject of moral philosophy. Would it not be far better to bring our youth to "the feet of Jesus"? Are they not called to be holy as he was holy? But how can we expect them to become so, if we do not early impress upon them his precepts, as the rules by which they should regulate their conduct and temper in all the relations and under all the circumstances of life? Are they not applicable to all these relations and circumstances? We mean not to imply, that specific rules are given by our Saviour for every instance of duty. But are there not enough to make known to us the nature, the *spirit*, of true righteousness? Surely there are. And he, who becomes possessed of this spirit, will be indued with wisdom sufficient to guide him always aright. It is not "a very learned, nor a very subtile, nor a very ingenious thing to be a good Christian;" though it may require a great deal of learning and subtilty, to answer all the questions, and resolve all the difficulties, which "the wise and the prudent" (as the world counts wisdom and prudence) may raise in the way of our duty. Any man of common sense, and of as much information as all now-a-days may, if they will, easily acquire, can very soon learn from the sacred Scriptures "what the Lord would have him do," that is, if he sincerely desires to know. There is an excellent and characteristic chapter, in the work under review, on "the mode of applying the precepts of Scripture to questions of duty;" from which, however, we have room to give but a single paragraph.

"Of the rule, 'not to do evil that good may come,' Dr. Paley says, that it 'is, for the most part, a salutary caution.' A person might as well say that the rule 'not to commit murder' is a *salutary caution.* There is no caution in the matter, but an imperative law. But he proceeds: — 'Strictly speaking that cannot be *evil* from which *good* comes.' * Now let the reader consider: — Paul says, *You may not do evil that good may come: Ay, but,* says the philosopher, *if good does come, the acts that bring it about are* NOT *evil.* What the Apostle would have said of such a reasoner, I will not trust my pen to suppose. The reader will perceive the foundation of this reasoning. It assumes that good and evil are not to be estimated by the expressions of the will of God, but by the *effects* of actions. The question is clearly fundamental. If expediency be the ultimate test of rectitude, Dr. Paley is right; if the expressions of the Divine will are the ultimate test, he is wrong. You must sacrifice the one authority or the other. If this will is the greater, consequences are not: if consequences are the greater, this will is not. But this question is not now to be discussed: it may however be observed, that the interpretation which the rule has been thus made to bear, appears to be contradicted by the terms of the rule itself. The rule of Christianity is, evil may not be committed for the purpose of good: the rule of philosophy is, evil may not be committed *except* for the purpose of good. Are these precepts identical? Is there not a fundamental variance, an absolute contrariety between them? Christianity does not speak of evil and good as contingent, but as fixed qualities. You cannot convert the one into the other by disquisitions about expediency. In morals, there is no philosopher's stone that can convert evil into good with a touch. Our labors, so long as the authority of the moral law is acknowledged, will end like those of the physical alchymist: after all our efforts at transmutation, lead will not become gold, — evil will not become good. However, there is one subject of satisfaction in considering such reasonings as these. They prove, negatively, the truth which they assail; for that against which nothing but sophistry can be urged, is undoubtedly true. The simple truth is, that if evil may be done for the sake of good, all the precepts of Scripture which define or prohibit evil are laws no longer; for that cannot in any rational use of language be called a law in respect of those to whom it is directed, if they are at liberty to neglect it when they think fit. These precepts may be advices, recommendations, 'salutary cautions,' but they are not *laws.* They may suggest hints, but they do not impose duties." — pp. 52, 53.

This uncompromising morality needs to be insisted on.

* Mor. and Pol. Phil., B. ii. c. 8.

It is the morality of the Gospel, but as yet is scarcely known among men. We rejoice that one has at last been found, able to appreciate and expound it so clearly as Mr. Dymond has done, and to vindicate so forcibly its claims to the entire obedience of all who would be Christians indeed. Of course there is much in his volume, which will be unpalatable to the sensual, the ambitious, the pharisaical, and the otherwise worldly-minded. It could not be an exposition of Christian morality, if it were not so. The corrupt maxims of statesmen, the base artifices of politicians, the chicanery so frequent in legal practice, and the unfair principles of trade and of pecuniary transactions, are exposed with great discrimination and apostolic fearlessness. Ay, many things which pass without reproach, and some that are even highly esteemed among men, are shown to be abominations in the sight of God. Those persons, who wish to be at ease in their sins, who "hate the light because their deeds are evil," will quickly turn away from these radiant pages. But those, whose anxious inquiry is "What lack I yet?" those who are seeking first of all things "the righteousness of God," who "count all things loss that they may win Christ," will not be content with a hasty perusal of this volume, but will keep it as their *Vade mecum*. To all, who are living for time alone, many of our author's sayings will seem too hard to be borne. But those, who are living for eternity, will find the yoke, which he imposes, easy, and the burthen light.

We are particularly earnest in our endeavour to press these Essays of Dymond upon the attentive consideration of our readers, at this time, because of the increase of infidelity in our land. We are persuaded it is because iniquity abounds among those calling themselves Christians, that the faith of many has waxed weak and their love cold. "What do ye more than others?" in what respects are ye better? is a question, which those, who have renounced Christ, may without impertinence put to many, who profess to be his disciples, who eat and drink at his table, and do many wonderful works in his name. Let the church therefore be purified, let the light of believers shine unsullied, and others will then see the excellency of the knowledge of Christ, and turn and glorify God.

We pass to the second Essay; where we have, without regard to systematic arrangement, the Christian principles of

morality faithfully applied in the determination of various questions of personal and relative duty. The first short chapter is devoted to the consideration of *religious obligations.* In this our author has given us some very discriminating remarks on "factitious semblances of devotion,"—"religious conversation,"—"sabbatical institutions," and "ceremonial institutions and devotional formularies." We heartily concur with him in most of his sentiments upon all these topics. Yet we think, with his American editor, that his language is in several instances not guarded enough. One might infer from his course of remark, that he considered the outward forms of religious worship as of no use. But this cannot have been his meaning. He was a Quaker, and undoubtedly conformed regularly to the manner in which Christians of the sect to which he belonged, conduct publish worship. He was fully persuaded that theirs is a more excellent way, than the way adopted by other Christians. And we think he has pointed out some very common and lamentable abuses of our ceremonial institutions and devotional formularies. We are constrained to acknowledge more than this. He has suggested some serious objections to some of the institutions and formularies themselves. We have not room here to discuss this subject as it deserves, and will dismiss it with the following extract from our author.

"To religious feelings, as to other things, the truth applies,—'By their *fruits* ye shall know them.' If these feelings do not tend to 'purify the affections from debasing attachments,' if they do not tend to 'form the inclinations to piety and virtue,' they certainly are not devotional. Upon him whose mind is really prostrate in the presence of his God, the legitimate effect is, that he should be impressed with a more sensible consciousness of the Divine presence; that he should deviate with less facility from the path of duty; that his desires and thoughts should be reduced to Christian subjugation; that he should feel an influential addition to his dispositions to goodness; and that his affections should be expanded towards his fellow-men. He who rises from the sensibilities of seeming devotion, and finds that effects such as these are not produced in his mind, may rest assured that, in whatever he has been employed, it has not been in the pure worship of that God who is a Spirit. To the real prostration of the soul in the Divine presence, it is necessary that the mind should be still:—'Be still, and know that I am God.' Such devotion is sufficient for the whole mind; it needs not,—perhaps in its purest state it

admits not, — the intrusion of external things. And when the soul is thus permitted to enter, as it were, into the sanctuary of God; when it is humble in his presence; when all its desires are involved in the one desire of devotedness to him; then is the hour of acceptable *worship*, — then the petition of the soul is *prayer*, — then is its gratitude *thanksgiving*, — then is its oblation *praise*. — p. 92.

In the next chapter, Mr. Dymond has expressed, with his wonted fearlessness, the thousand immoralities more or less gross, which are committed in society, without the forfeiture of character, in the acquisition and management of *property*. This he has done by a number of miscellaneous examples, not all of them selected on account of their individual importance, but rather as illustrations of the *principle* of rectitude, which is so often violated. We commend what he has written on this subject to our fellow citizens. One of their besetting sins, as all the world knows, is an undue eagerness in pursuit of money. Into this they have been led, perhaps it may with truth be said, by peculiar temptation. The country was impoverished by the struggle for independence. The success which crowned that enterprise filled the hearts of the people with exultation, and animated them to effort for the repair of their losses, and the improvement of the advantages they had secured. Then the long continued wars in Europe threw into their hands a large share of the commerce of the world, and afforded them opportunities to accumulate wealth with unexampled rapidity. Thus it is they have come to be "possessed of" the spirit of trade. And this spirit is not always in communion with the spirit of Christ.

We take this opportunity to record an illustrative anecdote, told us several years ago by a truly wise and good man, who, to escape the commotions of Europe under Bonaparte, sought an asylum in this country, and spent here the last years of his life in dignified retirement. He sat aloof from the strifes of parties, and from the bustle of the busy and the gay; and watched with the eye of a Christian philosopher the manners and tempers of those about him. At the time to which we refer, he had been speaking to us of the devotion of our countrymen to the accumulation of wealth. "It seems to me," said he, "that there are few who care about any thing else. And such are the customs of trade, and the habits of most who are involved in it, that those who would compete

with them, whatever be their tastes for higher pursuits, must be equally exclusive in their devotion to what your countrymen seem to regard 'as the one thing needful.' There is in this city,"* said he, "a man who was one of my early friends. In our own country, though an enterprising merchant, he was fond of letters; and, such were the habits of business men there, that he found leisure to indulge his *literary* dispositions. Since I came to live here, I have frequently visited him, but have always found his mind absorbed in the cares of trade. 'Why,' said I to him one day, 'why do you never incline to converse, as you used to do at home, upon subjects of science and taste?' 'Ah!' he replied, with a shrug 'I can read but one book now,—my leger.'"

We will introduce here a short passage from the next chapter, which we wish every man who is engaged in the pursuit of riches would seriously ponder.

"It were idle to affect to specify any amount of property which a person ought not to exceed. The circumstances of one man may make it reasonable that he should acquire or retain much more than another who has fewer claims. Yet somewhat of a general rule may be suggested. He who is accumulating should consider *why* he desires more. If it really is, that he believes an addition will increase the welfare and usefulness and virtue of his family, it is probable that further accumulation may be right. If no such belief is sincerely entertained, it is more than probable that it is wrong. He who already possesses affluence should consider its actual existing effects. — If he employs a competent portion of it in increasing the happiness of others, if it does not produce any injurious effect upon his own mind, if it does not diminish or impair the virtues of his children, if they are grateful for their privileges rather than vain of their superiority, if they second his own endeavours to diffuse happiness around them, he may remain as he is. If such effects are not produced, but instead of them others of an opposite tendency, he certainly has too much. — Upon this serious subject let the Christian parent be serious. If, as is proved by the experience of every day, great property usually inflicts great injuries upon those who possess it, what motive can induce a good man to lay it up for his children? What motive will be his justification if it tempts them from virtue?" — pp. 123, 124.

Our readers must pardon us, if we turn back a few pages,

* New York.

in order to notice the following paragraph in the chapter on Property.

"Slaves. If a person left me an estate in Virginia or the West Indies, with a hundred slaves, the law of the land allows me to keep possession of both; the moral law does not. I should therefore hold myself imperatively obliged to give these persons their liberty. I do not say that I would manumit them all the next day; but if I deferred their liberation, it ought to be for their sakes, not my own; just as, if I had a thousand pounds for a minor, my motive in withholding it from him would be exclusively his own advantage. Some persons who perceive the flagitiousness of slavery retain slaves. Much forbearance of thought and language should be observed towards the man in whose mind perhaps there is a strong conflict between conscience and the difficulty or loss which might attend a regard to its dictates. I have met with a feeling and benevolent person who owned several hundred slaves, and who, I believe, secretly lamented his own situation. I would be slow in censuring such a man; and yet it ought not to be concealed, that if he complied with the requisitions of the moral law, he would at least hasten to prepare them for emancipation. To endeavour to extricate one's self from the difficulty by *selling* the slaves were self-imposition. A man may as well keep them in bondage himself as sell them to another who would keep them in it, A narrative has appeared in print of the conduct of a gentleman to whom a number of slaves had been bequeathed, and who acted towards them upon the principles which rectitude requires. He conveyed them to some other country, educated some, and procured employment for others, and acted as a Christain toward all." — p. 113.

We are the more careful to notice this, because we have seen it and heard it quoted, with an air of exultation, as proof that this uncompromising, evangelical moralist would not approve the doctrine which, since his death, has accomplished the abolition of British Colonial Slavery, and is destined ere long, we trust, to attain a far more signal triumph.

By the expression "I do not say that I would manumit them all the next day," he may have meant no more than that he would not forthwith dismiss them, — send them away from under his hand, — which is the exact signification of the word *manumit*. He would not abandon them to themselves. He would endeavour, and every benevolent slave-holder ought to endeavour, to retain his freedmen within the sphere of his influence and parental control, that he might make them all the

amends in his power for the cruel injustice they had hitherto suffered, and advise and assist them to the best use and enjoyment of their liberty. But we are confident he would at once renounce all claim to them as *his property*. Aware of the legal contingencies, to which slaves are exposed, it seems to us that he could not, would not hold them as such one moment longer, than might be necessarily occupied by the process of emancipation. He would rid himself of the fearful responsibility as soon as possible. He would immediately recognise, and do all in his power to secure to them, their rights as men. How much soever he might endeavour to keep them still with him, he would not by any means infringe upon their rights. In the case he supposes, and in most cases, coercion would be unnecessary to bind them to him, even if it could be justified. The slaves are in general very strongly attached to the spot where they were born, where they have long lived, and especially where they have buried their dead. That is to say, they have the feelings, which other human beings have. They love home. Very few slaves would choose to leave the plantations, where they now are, if they could remain there *freedmen*. Such was the fact in St. Domingo, after the abolition of slavery by the National Assembly in 1794. And such has been the fact in the Islands of Bermuda, Antigua, and its dependencies, where the *apprenticeship* system has not obtained. The only general exceptions would be where husbands and wives, or parents and children, are now on separate plantations. They might wish to live together. Such removals as might be necessary to unite families, all benevolent men would surely encourage, as one of the first improvements to be made upon their present condition. Also, in cases where the slaves have been treated with particular cruelty, they might not be willing to remain with their masters. But, if humane masters would not have any need of power to coerce them to remain where they now are as freedmen, inhuman ones surely ought not to be trusted with such power. The unhappy operation of the apprenticeship plan in the British West Indies is making this sufficiently apparent to those who are the most "slow of heart to believe."

Mr. Dymond's opinion of slavery itself is seen more at length in another part of his volume; where he says: —

"He who had no right to steal the African, can have none to sell him. From him who is known to have no right to sell, another

can have no right to buy or to possess. Sale, or gift, or legacy imparts no right to me, because the seller, or giver, or bequeather had none himself. The sufferer has just as valid a claim to liberty at my hands as at the hands of the ruffian who first dragged him from his home. — Every hour of every day, the present possessor is guilty of injustice. Nor is the case altered with respect to those who are born on a man's estate. The parents were never the landholder's property, and therefore the child is not. Nay, if the parents had been rightfully slaves, it would not justify me in making slaves of their children. No man has a right to make a child a slave, but himself. What are our sentiments upon kindred subjects? What do we think of the justice of the Persian system, by which when a state offender is put to death his brothers and his children are killed or mutilated too? Or, to come nearer to the point, as well as nearer home, what should we say of a law which enacted that of every criminal who was sentenced to labor for life, all the children should be sentenced so to labor also? — And yet if there is any comparison of reasonableness, it seems to be in one respect in favor of the culprit. *He* is condemned to slavery for his crimes; the African, for another man's profit.

"That any human being, who has not forfeited his liberty by his crimes, has a right to be free, — and that whosoever forcibly withholds liberty from an innocent man robs him of his right, and violates the moral law, are truths which no man would dispute or doubt, if custom had not obscured our perceptions, or if wickedness did not prompt us to close our eyes.

"The whole system is essentially and radically bad: injustice and oppression are its fundamental principles. Whatever lenity may be requisite in speaking of the agent, none should be shown, none should be expressed, for the act. I do not affirm or imagine that every slave-holder is *therefore* a wicked man; but, if he be not, it is only upon the score of ignorance. If he is exempt from the guilt of violating the moral law, it is only because he does not perceive what it requires. Let us leave the *deserts* of the individual to Him who knoweth the heart: of his actions *we* may speak; and we should speak in the language of reprobation, disgust, and abhorrence." — pp. 388, 389.

The fourth and fifth chapters of the second Essay are upon Litigation, Arbitration, and the Morality of Legal Practice. We deem them so valuable, that, were we able to bear the expense, we would republish them in a pamphlet, and put a copy into the hands of every lawyer in the land. Money could not be better expended. In no part of our civil institutions is there more need of thorough reform, than in the administration of law. We are not ignorant that the legal prac-

tice of England is more corrupt than it is in this country. Yet we dare make the assertion, that there is scarcely a paragraph in these chapters, which does not unveil immoralities that are prevalent among us. The excuses, which are offered, are, as our author plainly shows, utterly invalid. Gentlemen of high standing in the profession have attempted to justify to us some of the practices, which we ventured to call immoral, and have left us astonished at the flimsiness of the veil they were contented to draw over them.

The chapters which follow, on Promises, Lies, and Oaths, bear the marks of our author's peculiarly earnest and unflinching spirit, and abound in useful and weighty suggestions. But we must pass on.

How true, — how worthy of the most serious consideration are Mr. Dymond's views of "Immoral Agency."

"A great portion of the moral evil in the world is the result, not so much of the intensity of individual wickedness, as of a general incompleteness in the practical virtue of all classes of men. If it were possible to take away misconduct from one half of the community and to add its amount to the remainder, it is probable that the moral character of our species would be soon benefited by the change. *Now*, the ill dispositions of the bad are powerfully encouraged by the want of upright examples in those who are better. A man may deviate considerably from rectitude, and still be as good as his neighbours. From such a man, the motive to excellence which the constant presence of virtuous example supplies is taken away. So that there is reason to believe, that if the bad were to become worse, and the reputable to become proportionably better, the average virtue of the world would speedily be increased.

"One of the modes by which the efficacy of example in reputable persons is miserably diminished, is by what we have called Immoral Agency, — by their being willing to encourage, at second-hand, evils which they would not commit as principals. Linked together as men are in society, it is frequently difficult to perform an unwarrantable action without some sort of coöperation from creditable men. This coöperation is not often except in flagrant cases refused; and thus not only is the commission of such actions facilitated, but a general relaxation is induced in the practical estimates which men form of the standard of rectitude.

"Since then so much evil attends this *agency* in unwarrantable conduct, it manifestly becomes a good man to look around upon the nature of his intercourse with others, and to consider whether he is not virtually promoting evils which his judgment deprecates, or reducing the standard of moral judgment in the world. The

reader would have no difficulty in perceiving, that if a strenuous opponent of the slave-trade should establish a manufactory of manacles, and thumb-screws, and iron collars for the slave-merchants, he would be grossly inconsistent with himself. The reader would perceive, too, that his labors in the cause of the abolition would be almost nullified by the viciousness of his example, and that he would generally discredit pretensions to philanthropy. Now that which we desire the reader to do is, to apply the principles which this illustration exhibits to other and less flagrant cases." — p. 167.

An application of these principles has been made in our country with the happiest effect. Intemperance had become a national vice. Its desolations and foul trophies were to be seen in every town and village, and in all classes of society. The friends of social order and religion were dismayed, — many were in utter despair, at the magnitude of the evil. At length it was perceived, by some one wiser than others, that reputable persons, ay, Christian men and women were the most efficient agents of the vice, whose ravages they deplored. It was therefore proposed that all, who would be safe themselves, and deliver their countrymen from this dreadful vice, should abstain wholly from making, vending, or using ardent spirits. The happy effect of this measure is apparent everywhere. It is a striking confirmation of our author's remarks. Let a similar application of these principles be made, in respect to other forms of licentiousness, and we confidently predict a similar result.

The amount of immoral agency, which is practised in political affairs is shown by our author to be very great. But we must pass over many topics, upon which he has written more like a Christian, than any other moral philosopher with whom we are acquainted, and detain our readers a moment only, by two short passages respecting the moral influence of the press.

"To say nothing, therefore, of editors who intentionally mislead and vitiate the public, and remembering with what carelessness respecting the moral tendency of articles, a newspaper is filled, it may safely be concluded that some creditable editors do harm in the world to an extent, in comparison with which robberies and treasons are as nothing." — p. 189.

"We want in editorial labors less of partisanship, less of petty squabbles about the worthless discussions of the day; we want more of the *philosophy* of politics, more of that grasping intelligence, which can send a reader's reflections from facts to princi-

ples. Our journals are, to what they ought to be, what a chronicle of the middle ages is to a philosophical history. The disjointed fragments of political intelligence ought to be connected by a sort of enlightened running commentary. 'There is talent enough embarked in some of these; but the talent too commonly expends itself upon subjects and in speculations, which are of little interest beyond the present week." — *Ibid.*

The eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth chapters are devoted to the great subject of Education. Mr. Dymond has much to say, and much that is true, of the time that is wasted, and the loss of a correct moral taste that is incurred, by the undue attention our educated youth are required to give to the study of the Classics. But we forbear to enter here upon that mooted question.

His chapter on Moral Education is excellent. In expressing the concurrence of our opinion with his, we may only repeat what we have elsewhere said. Education, in its broadest sense, may be understood to mean the complete and harmonious developement of all the intellectual and moral powers of our nature, — the subjection of ourselves to the supreme control of right principles, and the acquisition of all knowledge that may be necessary in order to our filling well the sphere of duty, in which God has placed us. Thus defined, it is the *great purpose* of this present state of our being. It is the work, which ought to be in continual progress so long as we live. As we advance into life, multiply our relations to mankind, and assume new responsibilities, increased demands of one kind or another are of course made upon our minds and hearts. These render it necessary for us to seek higher acquisitions of knowledge, and to ponder anew the correctness of our moral principles, in their operation upon new classes of duty. And thus the process of education goes on, or should go on, towards perfection. It would be well for us often to take this extended view of education, because it is only when we contemplate the whole, that we can form just ideas of its subordinate parts. But to whatever extent it may be probable this process will be carried in after life, the *commencement* of education ought in every instance to be the same; that is to say, it ought in every instance to be such as shall have a direct tendency to the grand result. So that any one, however humble be his origin, may be set out in that course, which, if his talents and opportunities in life permit him to pursue it,

may lead him to the highest attainments in knowledge and virtue. In one word, the specific object of elementary instruction, in every instance, should be *to begin that harmonious developement* of all the powers of our nature, which, if not dwarfed or paralyzed by neglect or sin, will be expanding for ever.

The third Essay, which is the longest and most elaborate, unfortunately the author did not live to revise. It is devoted to the elucidation of Political Rights and Obligations. In the first chapter he considers the Principles of Political Truth and of Political Rectitude. There is perhaps no part of the volume, in which he evinces more profound thought, more independence of mind, or more discrimination than in this, and the following chapters on Civil Liberty, Political Liberty, Religious Liberty, and Civil Obedience. They would make, with some necessary modifications, an admirable little manual of political science for our schools. How strange it is, that in our country this science forms no part of common education. Although we often hear it said, and every body concurs in the sentiment, that a republican government cannot long be maintained, unless the people generally are well informed, yet we ask, In what school are taught the great principles of civil government, and the peculiar characteristics of our Federal Constitution? These, like all other great principles, are simple, and not hard to be understood, unless the mind has been warped by sectional interests, or the schemes of a faction. What young man of common sense might not easily be made, before he leaves school, to understand these things perfectly? Instead of this, how true is it, and sad as true, that most of our young men are left to learn all they are to know of political science, and of their own rights and duties as citizens, amid the contests of rival factions, and from those too, whose opinions are misshapen by sectional interests, party passions, and selfish purposes.

Many of the details of this Essay were suggested to our author by the political institutions of his own country. The perusal of them, nevertheless, may be as profitable to the people here, as if he had written with especial reference to our institutions. His great object throughout is to illustrate and enforce the principles of political wisdom and rectitude. These are the same everywhere. It is the knowledge of *principles* that alone makes a man wise in any science. It is

the strict adherence to *principles*, that alone entitles an individual or a nation to be considered upright and moral.

The first literary effort of Mr. Dymond was "An Inquiry into the Accordancy of War with the Principles of Christianity." The substance of that inquiry is included in the last chapter of the work before us. It presents the most thorough examination and complete refutation of the arguments, by which ethical and political writers have attempted to justify war. One of the last of the many "good works" of the lamented Thomas S. Grimké of South Carolina, was to republish the "Inquiry," with Notes by himself. We hope to be able ere long to give our readers some account of the treatise, and its valuable appendages. We may here observe generally, that in what our author says of war, as in all his other writings, he knows no standard of right paramount to the precepts of Jesus. These constitute in his judgment, and in ours, the true standard. Men must conform to it. For "human happiness has no perfect security but freedom; freedom none but virtue; virtue none but knowledge; and neither freedom, nor virtue, nor knowledge, has any vigor or immortal hope, except in the principles of the Christian faith, and in the sanctions of the Christian religion."

NOTICES AND INTELLIGENCE.

A Brief View 1. *Of Errors and Obscurities in the Common Version of the Scriptures; addressed to Bible Societies, Clergymen, and other Friends of Religion.* 2. *Of Errors and Defects in Classbooks used in Seminaries of Learning; including Dictionaries and Grammars of the English, French, Greek, and Latin Languages; addressed to Instructors of Youth, and Students, with a few Hints to Statesmen, Members of Congress, and Heads of Departments. To which are added,* 3. *A few Plagiarisms, showing the way in which books may be made, by those who use borrowed capital.* By Noah Webster, LL. D. 8vo. pp. 24. — This pamphlet is from the pen of a veteran in letters, who, if we may judge from the tone of the present and other effusions of his, is ill at ease under the existing state of things. We learn, however, from various quarters, that he has received his full share of a justly earned patronage and reputation; and, this being the case,

we cannot but marvel and regret, that he should be so impatient and restive under slight rubs, real or fancied, and bear himself, at times, to borrow one of his own citations, "in the thickest troop" of rival grammarians and lexicographers,

"As doth a lion in a herd of neat."

Nevertheless we have received some valuable hints, and not a little entertainment, from what he has here set forth, and from the splenetic view running through the whole; though, of course, where so many and such weighty matters are to be gone over in the short space of twenty-four pages, it is only a very "brief view" that can be given or taken.

We copy the following as a specimen of our author's strictures on the common version of the Scriptures.

"The phrase, *strain at a gnat*, Matt. xxiii. 24, is a mistake, and evidently a misprint for *strain out a gnat*. The original does not signify to *make an effort*, but to *strain liquor*; and the sense, as the passage now stands, is perverted. In the Bishop's bible, it is correctly expressed, *strain out a gnat*. It is remarkable that commentators insert a note of several lines to correct this mistake, instead of altering the spelling from *at* to *out*. It is strange that those who superintend the Oxford press in England, should suffer such an obvious misprint to remain, age after age, uncorrected." — p. 2.

"The translation of the Greek *daimôn*, which renders it *devil* instead of *demon*, is an error, occurring often in the New Testament.

"If demons were considered as beings of a nature distinct from that of the grand adversary, the translation is palpably false: if they were considered as subordinate beings of the same nature as the grand adversary, then the translation confounds the subordinate beings with the chief.

"The translation of the Hebrew word *sheol* by *hell*, in the Old Testament, is unfortunate, as it never signifies *hell*, in the sense now attached to the word, a place of torment. The same remark may be made respecting the version of *hades* in the New Testament, at least in several instances. *Sheol* and *hades* signify the *grave* or the *invisible world*; but *hell* is now understood to be the place of torment for the wicked after death. Illiterate or common readers always understand the word in this sense, unless otherwise informed, and a great part of them may never be otherwise informed. It was this false translation which occasioned the word to be introduced into the creed; in which it is said "Christ descended into *hell*," a declaration that affirms what is now universally admitted to be a mistake." — p. 3.

"The words which, according to present usage, are ungrammatical, are very numerous. The senses of the words *shall* and *should*, have, by changes in usage, become improper in a multitude of passages; probably in a thousand.

"*Shall*, says Bishop Lowth, in the second and third persons, (in declarative phrases) promises, commands, or threatens. But attend to the following sentences, 'God,' says Joseph, '*shall* give Pharaoh an

answer of peace.' Gen. xli. 16. Does Joseph in this passage, *promise*, *command*, or *threaten*? Certainly not. He simply foretells; hence the word *will* should be used. 'God *will* give Pharaoh an answer of peace.'

"'Our God *shall* fight for us,' says Nehemiah. Chap. iv. 20. Did Nehemiah intend to *promise* for God or to *command* him? By no means. He intended only to *foretell*, and the phrase should be 'God *will* fight for us.'

"'One of you *shall* betray me,' says Christ to his disciples. Matt. xxvi. 21. Did Christ *promise* or *command* in this passage? Not at all. He simply foretold, 'One of you *will* betray me.'" — pp. 3, 4.

He also adverts to another reason for some amendment of King James's Bible, which never has been and never can be urged with half its proper force, because the most striking examples and illustrations of the evil in question are of such a nature that they cannot be adduced; we mean the not unfrequent recurrence of indelicate or otherwise offensive words and phrases.

"There is one objection to the present version of the Scriptures, of a different kind, but of no inconsiderable importance: this is, the use of indecent words and phrases; such phraseology as cannot be used in the common intercourse of life, without the grossest offence to good manners. If such offensive language was used by people of the best breeding in the age of Queen Elizabeth, it indicates a state of society little refined, or rather semi-barbarous. However this may be, the refinement of manners in this age forbids the use of such phraseology in company; and men who have any respect for decency are obliged to omit many passages, and even whole chapters, when they read the Scriptures in their families, or before a congregation. The indelicate phraseology is particularly offensive to females, who, in some instances, have been known to dread an attendance on schools of instruction, for fear of being required to read words which cannot be uttered without a blush." — p. 4.

We are glad to be able to number Dr. Webster among the eminent Orthodox scholars whose consciences are alive on the subject of the necessity of an improved version of the Scriptures for popular use. Let any one answer the argument as here put by our author, if he can.

"If the friends of the Bible *know* or *believe* that there are errors in the popular version, how can they conscientiously object to the correction of such errors? If the sense of any passage of a translation is not the sense of the original, such passage, to the reader of the translation, is *not the word of God.* We are told from the pulpit, and in books on religious subjects, that the Bible contains the infallible oracles or revelations of God's will to man; but if the version does not convey the real sense of the original, then the erroneous passages are not a part of divine revelation.

"There is reason to believe that inaccuracies in the present version, as well as the use of indelicate terms, have the effect to impair the

authority of the Scriptures; particularly with young persons. I hold it therefore to be a *moral duty* of the leading Christians of this country to devise some mode of uniting opinions on the subject of a revision and correction of the present phraseology." — p. 5.

To our author's somewhat jaundiced eye every thing, it must be confessed, is "out of joint." Passing from Bibles to lexicons, grammars, and spelling-books, he says, of the book in best repute among us as a standard of pronunciation;

"The use of Walker's Dictionary in this country has been owing to the activity of booksellers. Had the same exertions been used in favor of Jones or Perry, Walker's book would never have had much circulation. In my opinion, it is the most defective and erroneous dictionary that has been published during the last half century.

"If the orthoepists have done any good in Great Britain, where are dialects and differences of language without number, it is well; but in this country, I am convinced, by fifty years' observation, that their books have introduced as many differences as they have corrected. Indeed the native descendants of the English in this country retain almost exactly the pronunciation which their ancestors brought from England, which was that of the best bred characters *then*, and so it remains to this day. Excepting one class of words, in which *tu* has been changed, both in England and in this country, into *chu*, which is the greatest corruption which the language has suffered since the Norman Conquest; the pronunciation of words, among men of education, has been little changed since the pilgrims landed at Plymouth.

"Well bred men in England, as I am informed, never take their pronunciation from books; they take it from current usage among the higher classes of society. This shows the reason why the members of Parliament, who visited this country a few years ago, had never heard of Walker, till they came to the United States." — p. 11.

Dr. Webster gives a list of some of the most important of Walker's errors, from which we subjoin these:

"Walker pronounces *kind, guide, sky*, as *kyind, gyide, skei*. This is precisely the vulgar error in pronouncing *count, gown*, as if written *keount, geown*, and proceeding from a like cause, the ease of pronouncing *e* after the articulations *k* and *g*. This dandyism, so to speak, is rejected by Jameson, the last author on orthoepy.

"Walker directs *educate* to be pronounced *edjucate; verdure, verjure; arduous, arjuous; congratulate, congratshulate*; &c. This pronunciation Jameson condemns, and remarks that in *solemn discourse, it would be intolerable.*

"Walker, and some other compilers of dictionaries introduce *suite*, a French word, signifying a retinue or attendants, and pronounce it *swete*. This is wrong, not to say ridiculous; for the word when it signifies a retinue, is the same as when it signifies a *suit* of rooms or a *suit* of clothes or cards. Jameson very properly rejects this distinction, and writes the word *suit.*

"Walker and other English orthoepists countenance that abominable anomaly, *yumor*, for *humor*. Let them then give us *yerb*, for *herb*, and *yerth*, for *earth*, as pronounced in the North of England.

"Walker gives another vulgarism *cowcumber*, for *cucumber*; so also Sheridan; but Jones *kuk'umber*. All of them except Jameson give *umble* for *humble*, but Jameson restores the *h* and gives the true word *humble*. What is equally wrong and disgusting, Walker justifies the vulgar pronunciation, *bringin*, *singin*, *swingin*.* When shall we be delivered from such anomalies and barbarisms?" — p. 10.

Other grave matters are discussed in this pamphlet, but we must pass them over, being only able to afford space for one more of our author's criticisms, in explanation of a Latin proverb in common use.

"*Cui bono? cui malo?* To what good, to what evil will it tend? — *Maunder. Treasury of Knowledge.*

"*Cui bono?* To what end or purpose? To what good will it tend? — *Usage.* See *Biblical Repository.* Vol. I. p. 150 and 771.

"This is not all; the phrase in this sense has become proverbial. But the sense of the words, among the Latins, was different. The true phrase is, 'cui est bono?' *to whom is it for good?* for whose benefit is it? *Cui* is not an adjective agreeing with *bono;* but the phrase consists of two datives." — p. 13.

We would just observe in conclusion that Dr. Webster has given "a few hints" on orthography and grammar, which we join with him in commending to the attention of "statesmen, members of Congress, and heads of departments," to go no higher. Nay, we even of the commonalty may be more interested than we think for, in lucubrations of this nature; for we are told (p. 6), that a girl in the state of New York was chastised so severely as to cause her death merely because she pronounced *gig*, jig, — a catastrophe which our author assures us would certainly have been prevented, if the poor girl's alphabet had been pointed according to his system.

Religion in the Western States. — We have long entertained a suspicion, that the statements current in this part of the country respecting the prevalence of infidelity and irreligion at the West, were liable to the charge of great and offensive exaggeration. Some remarks in the last number of the "Western Monthly Magazine," a journal ably edited by Judge Hall, and published at Cincinnati, Ohio, has confirmed us more and more in this opinion. Referring to several injurious representations of the Western people, which he has particularly mentioned, the writer observes:

* "Walker calls the two sounds of *th*, or *eth*, by the epithets *flat* and *sharp*. He might as well call them *sweet* and *sour*."

"Thus we have had the same statement reiterated, in so many forms as to satisfy us, either that the people of New England have unaccountably fallen into an error, which is so widely spread that it is difficult to get their minds disabused, or else that a system of detraction has been carried on, in the execution of some plan, in which the people of these states are used as the instruments. That the men who make such statements believe them, is possible, — but it is barely possible; because all the evidence is the other way. We are bound to be charitable; but when a man, who professes to have seen and examined for himself, describes the population of the West 'as sinking progressively lower and lower in *manners, intellectual character, and morals*,' we confess we find it hard to believe that he thinks he is telling the truth. When another tells us that a majority of the Western population *doubt the divine origin of religion*, and another, that *one half are infidels*, or that all are half infidels, we are tempted to wonder how it is possible that an acute and sober-minded people like those of New England, can be thus imposed upon. As they are a people that are not willingly imposed upon, we are sure that they will be obliged to us for a few facts, about which there can be no dispute." — p. 107.

These facts we shall give, and without further comment except barely to premise, that though they may help to correct public sentiment in this quarter on the subject, some of them, in our view, are but little to the point, and that, altogether, they do not establish quite so much as the writer appears to suppose.

"We find nothing in the constitutions or laws of any of the Western states, which gives countenance to irreligion, or could occasion alarm to the most pious Christian; on the contrary, the direct tendency of all our public acts is to encourage and promote a respect for the forms and practices of religion. The constitution of Ohio declares that 'religion, morality, and knowledge are essentially necessary to the government and the happiness of mankind;' the same idea is repeatedly recognised in her laws, and in those of the other Western states. Laws for the suppression of vice and immorality, — for punishing blasphemy, — for the protection of worshipping congregations, — for guarding the solemnities of oaths, are as usual as elsewhere. Oaths are administered in all judicial proceedings, and in the qualification of persons for office, — a practice which would hardly be tolerated if one half of the population believed it to be an absurd mockery. No statute can be shown in which religion is treated with contempt, or the existence of a God denied. The Sabbath is even recognised by our lawgivers, who do not sit on that day, nor require the serving of process in civil cases, nor the performances of duties by public officers. Yet surely, if one half the population were atheists, these observances of the external forms of religion would not be adhered to; nor would our legislators thus carefully abstain from throwing the slightest disrespect upon religion, if they did not know that any other course of conduct would be offensive to their constituents.

"But there are other facts. We have in the whole valley twenty-five colleges, into all of the faculties of which the clergy have found admission; most of the faculties are composed entirely of clergymen

and professors of religion; with but one exception, if indeed there be one, our colleges are entirely under the influence of the Christian churches, and under the management of ministers of the gospel. Now how does this come about? Do the half-infidel population of our country *prefer* Christian teachers for their sons? Cannot that half who are atheists start *one* college, when their opponents sustain *five and twenty*? Or is not that explanation the most plausible, which suggests, that atheism is so lightly esteemed here, that no institution for the dissemination of its tenets, can be tolerated? Fanny Wright tried her luck here, but people continued to marry and give in marriage, in spite of all she could say. Owen spent a fortune in trying to plant infidelity in our soil, — but failed. It is almost the only thing that will *not* grow under our genial climate.

"We have a few more facts. The editor of a religious newspaper in this city, who receives nearly all the other papers of the West in exchange for his own, assured us lately, that he had seen *but one* in which religion was treated with open disrespect. The editors as a body give their influence decidedly to the support of Christianity. We would be willing to rest the cause on this one fact; for the press reflects public sentiment, and if one half the people were atheists, there would be editors enough found to represent their opinions. The circumstance that the editors are all on the other side, shows plainly enough which way the wind blows.

"Ministers of the gospel, of different denominations, circulate through this whole valley, — and are received with uniform kindness, respect, and hospitality. Wherever they travel, the houses of the people are thrown open to them freely; they are entertained gratuitously, and cheerfully, not only by their own respective adherents, but by any and every man indiscriminately, at whose door they choose to stop. The clergy will corroborate this evidence, as to their reception at the firesides of our farmers. It is true they are not gazed at with the wonder and reverence which attaches to the ministerial character in some other places; the children do not hide behind the fences, nor peep round the corners of the house, to catch a glimpse of 'the minister,' nor does the good wife imagine him gifted with the spirit of prophecy. Most of our population have travelled; they have seen something of the world, and are not astounded by the presence of an educated man. They are in the habit of hearing public speeches, more than any other people, are good judges of eloquence, and are not struck with sudden admiration towards a stranger, who can converse or harangue with fluency. A young missionary, therefore, who is new and raw, or who has the organ of self-esteem largely developed, may very naturally imagine at first, that he does not receive the deference which is due to his clerical character; but he soon finds that he is among a people who respect religion, who appreciate the labors of the minister, and who receive him with sincere kindness.

"These are stubborn facts; and we venture to say that no intelligent man can attentively and candidly examine them, without being struck with surprise at the frequency and pertinacity with which the atheism, heathenism, and irreligion of our population has been reiterated. We are not disposed, when treating so grave a subject, to deal in comparisons; but a proper regard for truth, and a just pride in the character of

the country in which we live, induce us to remark, that if the statements of the Methodist preachers who traverse our whole frontier, and visit the cabins in our new settlements, be compared with the observations of the ministers of the same denomination, who circulate among the dwellings of the illiterate in the Atlantic states, it will be found that the difference of character, as regards respect for religion, is greatly in our favor. And there is a reason why this should be the case. We have no sea-ports, and few large towns. The proportion of ignorant and debased foreigners is infinitely less here, than in the Atlantic states. The proportion which the farmers bear to other classes is greater in the new, than in the old states. Ours is almost wholly an agricultural community; and there is no question, that the farming population, as a class, is that in which there is the most sobriety, sedateness, and sound morals. The farmer connot carry on his business without a home and a wife. They marry early, and become surrounded by the hallowing influence of the family, — by all the cares and responsibilities which appeal to the best affections of the heart. They necessarily own live stock and other property, which requires their care, and are usually freeholders, — interested in the prosperity of the country, the stability of its laws, and the purity of its institutions. We have few of that class described by the writer of the article on 'Atheism in New England' as 'men of idle habits and loose morals, who have no chance and no wish for success in any fixed and honest calling, and who are ever ready for the introduction of any thing by which they may gain distinction and profit.' That writer asserts that 'there are more than three hundred infidels to be found among the inhabitants of Lowell;'— we have no town of which such a statement would be true."— pp. 108 -110.

Minor Morals for Young People. Illustrated in Tales and Travels. By JOHN BOWRING. With Engravings, by GEORGE CRUIKSHANK and WILLIAM HEATH. London. 1834. 16mo. pp. 261. — This little volume owes its existence, as the author tells us in the Preface, to a suggestion, which naturally occurred to him while preparing Mr. Bentham's posthumous work on "Deontology" for the press, that Mr. Bentham's "*greatest happiness principle*" might be still further elucidated and applied, by the blending of amusement and instruction, for the service of the young. A series of narratives is here given, borrowed for the most part, as we are informed, from the writer's own observation and experience, with a view to illustrate and enforce the practical rules which it is his object to inculcate on children. It is not, we suppose, a work of much labor; but, even if the name of its accomplished author were not given, every reader would pronounce it to be the work of a man of genius. It must interest young minds, we are sure; and it also contains many passages of considerable poetic beauty, and is pervaded throughout by a noble and pure spirit of philanthropy. We may add, that the soundness and value of our author's instructions will not be much impaired, even in the eyes of those who

differ from him most widely in regard to utilitarianism, by the importance which he attaches to that theory; partly because his good sense and good taste keep him, in general, from offensive statements of the doctrines of his school, and partly, because, however it may be with adults, children are not in much danger of carrying to an extreme the principle of determining the morality of human conduct by a calculation of the consequences. The subjects illustrated by narratives and familiar conversations are the following: Anger, Courage, Generosity, Intolerance, Advice-Giving, Presence of Mind, Humanity to Animals, Veracity, Praise and Blame, Employment of Time, Love of Flowers, Perseverance, Good Nature, Patience under Censure, Mercy, Nobility of Skin, Order, Justice, and Ancient Times. As the book is at present but little known in this country, we shall copy a specimen of the writer's manner from his illustrations of Anger.

"'Oh! see how that cruel fellow is beating his poor beast!' said Arthur Howard to his father and brother George, as they were going out for an early country walk. Arthur's attention had been excited by a shabbily-dressed man who was belaboring a rough-coated, feeble, and blind old horse, that was dragging, or rather attempting to drag, a cart with a heavy load of vegetables to market. The poor creature tried and tried, but could not get the wheels out of the rut in which they had stuck; and the driver, whose anger increased with the increased vain attempts of the horse to move onward, was dealing out his blows most unmercifully about the animal's legs and head, and swearing more loudly, and laying on more violently, at every stroke. 'What an abominable rascal!' exclaimed Arthur again. 'I 'll, — I 'll,' — and away he scampered, almost as much in a passion as the man whom he was going to reprimand and to punish.

"'Now see,' said his father to George, 'in what an unfit state Arthur is for doing a humane thing. He intends to act kindly and generously, but he will most likely make matters worse. He will only exasperate the man the more; and the poor beast will be the sufferer for his imprudence.'

"'What do you mean, you worthless vagabond!' cried Arthur when, out of breath and hardly able to find words for his rage, he came up to the carter. 'What, — what do you mean by treating the poor horse so wickedly?' — 'What do I mean, Mr. Impertinent! *There*, — that 's what I mean:' upon which he turned upon the silent and suffering creature with far greater violence than before, and smote him so ferociously that every blow made Arthur's heart shudder within him.

"'And now, young gentleman! if you don't move off,' said the man, 'mayhap I may try how you like the stick upon your own shoulders, by way of teaching you how to meddle with other people's concerns.'

"Arthur was a boy of humane and generous dispositions, and he could not immediately see that he had done any thing wrong by giving way to what he had perhaps thought, as many others would have thought, a natural and proper sentiment of indignation; yet he felt he

must have made some mistake, for he had failed in his purpose; and, with a spirit somewhat broken and subdued, he ran back to his father and his brother.

"'Well, my boy!' were the first words he heard from his father, 'and what have you got by throwing yourself into such a towering passion?'—'How could I help it, papa! when I saw that man's frightful cruelty?'—'But has your passion been of any service to you, Arthur? Did it help you to persuade the cruel man, or to rescue the suffering beast? You intended to do what was humane, I know; but you set about it rashly. Your anger was more violent than your reason. You were more bent upon punishing than preventing an offence; and, though you proposed to do good, you have only done evil.'

"'But tell us, papa!' said George, whose temper was more sedate, and whose judgment more cool than his brother's, 'is anger never justifiable,—never commendable? Must one see all sorts of wicked and improper conduct, and not be angry with it? I have often heard indignation called generous, and anger virtuous. Are they never so?'

"'Never, my son! for what is anger? It is pain,—pain inflicted on yourself; by which you are excited to inflict pain on another. It may be necessary to inflict pain on another for that other's good, and for the good of society; but your being angry is just the way to prevent you from properly judging what pain, and how much pain it is right to inflict in order to produce that good. Now, if Arthur, instead of breaking out into a storm of passion, had first considered what he really meant to do, which was to induce that ignorant man to refrain from misusing that unfortunate beast, he would have prevented three mischiefs,—the mischief of being in a passion, with all its pains, annoyances, and disappointments; the mischief to the animal, which has only suffered the more from his interference; and the mischief to the carter, whom he has but exasperated the more, and, perhaps, strengthened in his vicious propensities.'"—pp. 1–6.

They continue their morning walk, Mr. Howard finding in almost every object which struck their attention, new arguments by which to impress on his boys "the great purpose of Providence, the general lesson of creation—happiness!" We give the sequel.

"And the thought again came over Arthur's mind, that anger never made any body the happier.

"They returned homeward. Their walk had been long; longer than usual. Whom should they meet, but the cartman who had excited so much of Arthur's indignation a few hours before! He had delivered his cart-load to the market gardener, and was walking sulkily by the side of his cart, every now and then giving the poor horse a heavy stroke with his stick. The horse, however, being now relieved of his burthen, moved on with something like activity. The man no sooner saw Arthur approaching, than, as if in pure spite and contradiction, he struck his beast a vehement blow upon his nose. But Arthur had learnt wisdom; and his father was charmed to see that he was struggling to check the outbreak of his anger. He, however, went to the carter, who began to scowl at him as he approached, expecting,

no doubt, another violent scolding. But Arthur had found out his mistake. The man perceived the difference, and his own looks changed as Arthur said to him, in a quiet and gentle tone, 'I spoke to you improperly this morning; I am sorry for it.' The man did not give the horse another blow; and once or twice, as George and Arthur turned round to watch what was going on, which they did very cautiously indeed, they saw the carter kindly patting his poor beast upon the back, and heard him singing, in the distance, a good-humored song." — pp. 8 - 10.

Under the head of Generosity we find the following judicious remarks on indiscriminate alms-giving, illustrated as usual with a short story or anecdote.

"'The want of prudence and of providence among the poor cannot be provided against, unless they suffer something for their neglect. It is often for their own interest that they should suffer. If I punish you for a fault, it is not because I have any pleasure in punishing you, and seeing you suffer, but because I know, unless you are made to suffer, you will not try to correct the fault. If a poor person were as well, or better off, by his laziness or his drunkenness, than he would be by his industry and his temperance, he would have a stronger motive to do wrong than to do right. You must always try to give to people reasons or motives for doing right. Suppose one boy works hard, very hard, in the fields, and at the end of the weary day gets sixpence for his labor, and there is another idle beggar-boy who gets a shilling without work, by merely asking alms of travellers, the bad boy will be twice as well recompensed as the good boy, and every penny you have given the bad boy is an encouragement to his idleness and his beggary. I have seen a little girl who hunted for mushrooms all the day long. She was then a pattern of neatness and industry; she went into the fields and was as diligent and busy as she could be; and, in the evening, if she had earned two or three pence by the sale of her mushrooms, she was as pleased as possible. But, one evening, when she was coming home from her walks, and very tired indeed she was, she saw a girl of about her own age who asked charity from a lady in a fine carriage; and the lady threw her a shilling, and said to her in a very kind tone: — 'There, poor child!' Upon which the little girl who had been used to gather up pennies, and two-pences, and three-pences, by her own industry, said to herself: — 'Why do I lead this weary life? Why do I go trudging away through field and field, and after all can only get a few halfpence for all my toils and travels? I will turn beggar too.' And so she did; and she lost her good habits, and took to bad ones. The clean and diligent child was no longer to be seen hunting for mushrooms in the fields. She became a practised beggar, and at last an insolent one, and then grew careless about right and wrong, — and invented stories about her sufferings that were untrue, and ended by committing crimes, for which she was transported to a distant land; and sorrowful indeed it was, to recall the time of her childhood, when she gathered mushrooms in the green fields. Now you must not think that the lady who gave the shilling to the beggar-girl *intended* to act amiss. She thought she did a generous thing, and it *was* generous to give a shilling to a poor child, but it was very mischievous; and

thus you see, that to be generous is not quite the same as to be wise and good.'" — pp. 31 – 34.

To illustrate and recommend a virtuous Perseverance, an interesting account is given of the singular fortunes of Jacquard, of Lyons, the inventor of the Jacquard machine for weaving the most complicated patterns of many-colored Oriental shawls, fashionable silks, and variegated ribbons. On the subject of Nobility of Skin, a story is told of a kidnapped African girl, founded apparently on fact, which it will not be to the credit of any one, young or old, to be able to read with dry eyes. Our limits will not allow us, however, to make further extracts or references; nor is it necessary. Of course, in the multitude of children's books, with which the press teems, most of them the offspring of feeble or narrow minds, some American publisher will eagerly avail himself of the opportunity to reprint the work under notice, as being a production not unworthy of the eminent scholar and philanthropist whose name it bears.

The Boston Observer and Religious Intelligencer. — This is the title of a new weekly journal, begun under very promising auspices at the commencement of the present year, and devoted to "Liberal Christianity, Sunday Schools, Literature, and Intelligence." It is handsomely printed in a quarto form, as being best fitted for binding and future preservation; each number contains about as much matter as one of the monthly numbers of the Unitarian did; it is intended that it shall be filled almost entirely with original communications, and that it shall combine, as far as may be, the advantages of a religious newspaper and a religious magazine. The ability, spirit, and variety which appear in the numbers already issued, are an earnest and pledge at once of its usefulness and success, and we give it, therefore, a cordial welcome and recommendation.

Sephora; a Hebrew Tale, descriptive of the Country of Palestine, and of the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Israelites. Abridged and corrected from the London Edition, by the Rev. Thaddeus Mason Harris, D. D. Worcester: C. Harris. 1835. 12mo. pp. 254. — It is matter of regret, if the appearance of this anonymous little work in England has had any thing to do in preventing the learned American editor from going on with his projected "Travels through Palestine of the good Roman Centurion." The latter, we are sure, would have been what the former is not, and could not be made to be, a useful and safe guide in regard to the country of Palestine and the manners and customs of the an-

cient Israelites. We look in vain in its elaborate and finished, but somewhat stiff and verbose descriptions, for traces of the pliant imagination of Miss Martineau, or the Oriental mind of Herder, and, to a certain extent, of Milman, which makes us almost live, for the time, in the scenes and among the people of the East. The writer also seems but indifferently well acquainted with material characteristics of the Hebrew polity; for he represents the Feast of Tabernacles as being celebrated not at Jerusalem alone, but by various groups in different parts of the country, not unlike the camp-meetings of the Methodists. He even so far forgets what has always been considered, we believe, as a fundamental law of Moses, namely, that there should be but one place of sacrifice, as to speak of an altar on the plains of Zaanaim (p. 127), and of another on Mount Carmel (p. 131), on which victims were offered. But the most serious objection to this writer is to be found in his extreme and unaccountable misconception of the Jewish mode of thinking and speaking on moral and religious subjects, of which the following passage may be taken as a pretty fair specimen. Nicanor, a poor, sightless, decrepit peasant, in a miserable hut, and on his death-bed, is speaking of Patrobus, the father of Sephora.

"I remember in particular," said the old man, "his coming here one Sabbath with the book of Isaiah in his hand, and beginning to unroll it, he said he was come to read it to me, and make me a partaker of the best gift he inherited from his forefathers. I thanked him, but told him I did not wish to hear it; that I knew the commandments, and many good texts from the phylacteries of the Pharisees; that I had never done harm to any man; and this was learning and religion enough for me. I have often since wondered at myself, that I should be so ill-mannered as to refuse to hear him. To be sure he had cause enough to be offended, considering how much I had formerly been obliged to him, and that he was so much above me in life, and had taken this trouble on my account. But, instead of showing any anger, he took my hand, and said with a voice of affection that I seem still to hear, 'Nicanor, you think that you have religion enough, but you may not always think so; you may perhaps live to feel the want of a peace of heart which this book could teach you how to obtain. Should that time ever come, send for me; we have been fellow soldiers in the turmoils of this life,— our lot is now cast together in these more peaceful scenes,— and I hope we shall be compatriots in that glorious world that lies beyond the grave. Nicanor, if ever I should get there, (as through the merits of my promised Redeemer I do not doubt but I shall,) I think I should be sorry to miss you.'" — pp. 63, 64.

The Biblical Repository and Quarterly Observer. Conducted by B. B. Edwards. January, 1835. Boston: Perkins, Marvin and Co. Andover: Gould and Newman. 8vo. pp. 264. — The two journals above mentioned have been united, for the pur-

pose, as we are told in the Prospectus, of concentrating talent and patronage, and the work is hereafter to be conducted by the gentleman who has had charge of the Observer. We hope that the biblical department will be as ably sustained as when in the hands of Professor Robinson. The first Number contains a paper by Professor Stewart, on the "Designations of Time in the Apocalypse," in which he arrives at last at the following sound conclusion. "To every devoted disciple of the Saviour, whose heart's desire and daily prayer to God is, that his kingdom may come, I would say, Never occupy your precious time in seeking out some possible sense of the Apocalypse by giving it a *literal* interpretation. I might even say, 'The letter killeth, but the spirit maketh alive.'" (p. 82.) This number also contains a translation, by Professor Torrey of Tholuck's "Exposition of the Lord's Prayer," taken from his "Commentary on the Sermon on the Mount." We also have a short but favorable notice of the first number of Professor Bush's Commentary on the book of Psalms, in which the writer observes: "It would be manifestly improper to give any decided opinion of the merits of a commentary on one hundred and fifty Psalms, when a tythe is published. We shall, therefore, mainly confine ourselves to the correction of a few errors." (p. 239.) Then follow a number of these errors, consisting for the most part of misprints of the Hebrew. We shall take leave to point out a few errors of the same kind in the Biblical Repository itself; for in one of the articles just mentioned, the "Exposition of the Lord's Prayer," the following mistakes occur.

Page 213,	הִקְרִישׁ	is put for	הִקְדִּישׁ.
" 214,	יִתְקְרַשׁ	" " "	יִתְקַדַּשׁ.
" 214,	יִתְפָּאֵר	" " "	יִתְפָּאַר.
" 214,	הַקְרִישׁ	" " "	הַקְדִּישׁ.
" 229,	לְהֶם	" " "	לְחֶם.
" 237,	א וּסְיָא	" " "	אוּסְיָא.
" 237,	לְחֶם	" " "	לְחֶם.

On page 228 we find the following strange combination of letters; — פְּרַנְסָה : כְּרַפַּרְנָסָתוֹ and פַּרְנָסָתוֹ we understand.

We would say of these *errata*, in the words of the writer of the notice on Professor Bush's work: "We are aware that the above criticisms are minute, and do not affect at all the general merits of the commentary; yet they are not unimportant. Every author and publisher, particularly of works of this sort, ought to aim at entire accuracy. The proof-reader should look well to his calling."

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NEW SERIES—N°. XXXVIII.

MAY, 1835.

ART. I.—1. *The Young Christian; or a familiar Illustration of the Principles of Christian Duty.* By JACOB ABBOTT. Stereotype Edition. Boston. 1833. 12mo. pp. 395.

2. *The Corner-Stone; or a familiar Illustration of the Principles of Christian Truth.* By JACOB ABBOTT. Boston. 1834. 12mo. pp. 360.

PERHAPS no books have issued from the religious press, more true to their title as "Illustrations," than those of Mr. Abbott. Familiar illustration is his characteristic, and reason, nature, and life, the sources from which he draws most freely, —not to the neglect of Scripture, for he aims to base everything on that,—but to a much greater and bolder degree than has been common with writers of his faith. In this respect, if in no other, his writings may form an epoch in religious composition.

We have felt a reluctance to draw into controversy books of so practical an aim and devotional temper. Mr. Abbott deprecates any such use of his works, which makes us the more unwilling to evince the least disposition to take them up for that purpose. We cheerfully accord him the justice which he asks in his Preface to "The Corner-Stone," —"to admit, that I have made this exhibition of the Gospel, with reference to its moral effect on human hearts, and not for the purpose of taking sides in a controversy between different parties of Christians." No one can read a single chapter from his pen, without seeing that to affect the heart is his great object, and that he does not contend for doctrine, so much as seek to illustrate and apply it. Still, we are sure, no one would be

less averse than himself to a temperate discussion of any doctrine or principle which he has advocated. Nor will he object to a candid, free examination of his books themselves. The notice that we shall take of them here will be general and free, we hope candid.

These books deserve consideration. Their author possesses a happy power of illustrating the highest truths, and recommending them to the understanding and interest of the lowest minds, minds indeed of almost every grade. His works are calculated to find, and they have found, a ready reception and extensive circulation. We have seen accounts, though we do not retain particulars, of their great popularity and multiplication in England as well as this country. It does not surprise us, nor cause any regret. The increase of practical religious works, and the increased demand for them, we welcome as one of the best indications of our time. We are particularly glad, when any one succeeds in the difficult task of dressing religious truth in a garb which will make it attractive to the young, and even to the lovers of mere narrative and fiction. We are glad, when any thing is written, which will fix the mind upon religion in its private hours, and compel or allure it to contemplate its own habits, dangers, and duties. As we know not the form of Christianity which does not seem to us better than infidelity, so we hardly know the book, aiming to elucidate and enforce religion, however defective in doctrine, which we would not put into the hands, or see in the hands, of the young, more willingly, than the vapid, noxious trash, which usually passes under the name of light reading. We certainly recollect no book of a practical moral character in common use, which we would not prefer to have read, rather than that nothing of this character should be read, no interest engaged, or inquiry started. Much should we distrust our own interest in religion, our impartial joy in its spread, if we could treat any such book or writer, as some of our own practical writers have been treated. They have something to answer for, be they of our name or another, who attempt to stamp with opprobrium any works, whose unquestionable design is to awaken or strengthen religious feeling, and whose prevailing tendency, however feeble or with whatever exceptions, must be in that direction.

In that direction clearly is the tendency of all we have seen in the books now before us, and several others, from the

pen, or the supervision of Mr. Abbott. We have admired his copiousness and tact in illustration, and though we have seen defects in style, doctrine, and judgment, they have seemed to us to be exceptions, not the rule. We find no difficulty in sustaining interest, and no despair of deriving profit, from such books. They can hardly be read by any one, without leading him to self-examination, serious and deep thought; a good result, whether produced by what we approve wholly or in part only. We should be sorry to think, that any could read them, without seeing more clearly his own deficiencies of character, and mourning over his sins; a still better result, though not the best. And here we may mark one of the defects of Mr. Abbott's writings. They often come short, and are apt to come short, of the highest and best moral effect, — that of convincing the sinner that he has something to do and can do something towards his reform, showing him what it is definitely, and then stimulating him to its performance. Their effect is oftener depressing than stimulating, and we fear would so be felt by many, who need to be stimulated and encouraged more than to be depressed.

This defect arises partly from too great amplification, want of definiteness, want of strong impression with clear instruction as to this or that duty. It arises still more perhaps from the author's peculiar views. He may not regard it as a defect. He may think that all men ought to be depressed; that a conviction of guilt, sorrow for sin, and a loathing, trembling abhorrence of it, humiliation and self-condemnation, are the beginning, and must be the beginning, of that thorough change and new life, which are essential to all. To a great degree, we believe it; to so great a degree, that we are not inclined to divert attention from what we approve in it, to what we disapprove. Men do need to be convicted of sin, all men. They must be brought not only to resist sin, but to abhor it, to see in it no charm, but feel that to them, as to God, it is an abomination. They must understand what the Apostle meant, when he spoke of sin as "exceeding sinful." Such a knowledge of it, such conviction and habitual contemplation of it, are salutary, are indispensable to thorough repentance and Christian progress. It is plain that no obdurate offender can be roused and rightly impelled, until he is brought to this conviction, and humbled and abased by it. It may be that no common offender, no sinner, that is, no man,

is led to enter upon a decided Christian course, to see the necessity of it, and resolve upon it with all the strength that God has given or promised, without a new and vigorous impulse from convictions of this kind, pertaining to himself and his own sins, and not to men in the mass, or sin in general. It is this that the Scriptures often denote by conversion; and this we would urge upon all, using only the qualification which Mr. Abbott has well expressed, that "conversion is not a change completed,—it is a change *begun.*" If his friends would regard more than they do the importance of the distinction there conveyed, and if our friends would consider more than they do the importance of the duty there implied, something would be gained on both sides. That men, to become Christians, must make a beginning at some period of their lives,—often an emphatic, marked beginning in their convictions and purposes, their motives and efforts, so marked that it may well bear the name of a new birth, and they be called new creatures,—we consider one of the fundamental truths of the Bible, and one of the clearest lessons of reason and life. Obviously the doctrine has its qualifications, and the duty its distinctions, as applied in Scripture to Jews and Gentiles, and applied now to those born under the light and influences of Christianity. But the principle is not changed. Its importance is not lessened, nor indeed its necessity. We have more reason to desire, than to fear, its application to ourselves or to any around us.

In all this, however, every one sees, there should be great discrimination and definiteness, strict truth as well as earnestness. It is the want of discrimination, not the vehemence of appeal or closeness of application, that we regret in most preachers and writers of Mr. Abbott's stamp. That he himself uses more discrimination and independence, though not enough, is one reason of our interest in his books. To show this trait, and to avail ourselves of views so just and important, we make a few extracts here from the concluding Chapter of "The Corner-Stone." They are directions suited to every one who wishes to become a Christian.

"Become *wholly* a Christian, if you mean to become one at all. Do not try to come and make half a peace with God, or to seek a secret reconciliation. If you have been in sin, renounce it entirely. If you have been in error, abandon it openly. Do not be ungrateful or cowardly enough to wish to conceal your new at-

tachment to the cause of God, or to avoid an acknowledgment that you have been in the wrong. Take the side of God and duty openly, distinctly, fearlessly. This is your duty; and, besides, it is your happiness. A half Christian is always a most wretched one.

"Be a humble Christian. Do not fancy yourself an extraordinary instance of religious zeal, or look down with affected wonder on the supposed inferiority of those who have been longer in their Master's service. You may be as ardent, as devoted, as pure and holy as you please; but do not draw comparisons between yourself and others, till you have been tried a little. Remember that the evidence of piety is chiefly its fruits, and that well grounded assurance can come only after years of devoted, and tried, and *proved* attachment to God."

"Do not waste any time in trying to determine at what precise time you became a Christian, nor distress yourself because you cannot determine it: nor perplex your mind and impede your religious progress, because you cannot positively ascertain whether you are really a Christian or not. If the service of God looks alluring to you, press forward into it, without stopping to consider the difficulties of determining how you came where you are.

"There is perhaps no more common source of perplexity and discouragement to the young Christian than this. He thinks he must be able to tell precisely when he began to serve God, or else he can have no evidence that he really has begun to serve him at all. But that time cannot be determined. In a very large number of the cases where it is supposed to be determined, the period which is fixed, is probably fixed by mistake. Deposit a little seed in a place of warmth and moisture, and watch it as narrowly as you please, and see if you can tell when it begins to vegetate? Equally impossible is it, in most cases, to determine the precise period when the first holy desires sprung up in the human heart: and it is useless, as well as impossible. The only question of importance is, whether the seed is growing,—no matter when, or how, it began to grow.

"Or rather, I should perhaps say, the only question is, by what cultivation we can make the seed grow most rapidly: for important as it is, that every Christian should know what are his condition and prospects in reference to God and eternity, there is undoubtedly such a fault, and it is a very common one, as pursuing this inquiry with too great earnestness and anxiety. Many a mind wears and wastes itself away, and exhausts its moral energy, in fruitless endeavours to determine its own spiritual state, when peace and happiness would soon come, if it would only press on in the work of duty."

"Do not exaggerate the religious differences between yourself

and others, or overrate their importance. Be willing to see piety wherever you can find it, and be bound to all who possess it by a common sympathy. If they differ from you in this or that article of belief, do not fix your eye obstinately upon that difference, and dwell upon it, and dispute about it, till you effectually sunder the bond by which you might be united. Look for *piety*. Wherever you find it, welcome it to your confidence and sympathy. In all your efforts to do good, too, aim at the direct promotion of piety, not at the eradication of religious error. Your attacks upon error will only strengthen it in its entrenchments; but piety, wherever you can make it grow, will undermine and destroy error, more surely than any other means you can employ." — *The Corner-Stone*, pp. 353, 354, 357.

Supposing the books, whose titles we have taken, to be well known to most if not all of our readers, we have thought it needless to give a formal account of them, or to observe any order in the extracts we may make. Our remarks upon them as a whole, we will not prolong. Of the first, "The Young Christian," we can speak with more unqualified approbation, than of the other. The one relates to Christian Duty, the other to Christian Truth. It might be expected, therefore, that we should find more to agree with cordially in the first, than in the last; for though their author does not make either of them unnecessarily or offensively doctrinal, he could not easily conduct an inquiry or an exhortation on the principles of Christian truth, without building it on his own peculiar opinions. Those opinions, so far as they appear in these volumes, are mild Calvinism. We do not recollect any extreme opinion, or very harsh expression. There is certainly no appearance of bigotry or bitterness. There is occasional boldness of thinking and speaking, and we have no doubt the writer follows the advice given to his readers;—"Be independent; use your own reason, your own senses, your own Bible. Be untrammelled; throw off the chains and fetters which compel so many minds to believe only what they are told to believe, and to walk, intellectually and morally, in paths marked out for them by human teachers." In the exercise of this independence, he excludes much that we have been led to expect in publications from similar sources, but which we are glad not to find. He introduces very much to which we heartily respond, and which we would help to recommend and disseminate. The duties of confession, prayer, faith in Christ, and personal

improvement, are variously elucidated and strongly enforced in "The Young Christian." In the Chapters on Difficulties in Religion, and the Evidences of Christianity, there is also much excellent matter. It would not be difficult to find objectionable passages, nor difficult to quote unobjectionable pages. We have not disposition for the first, nor room for the last. The book may be placed profitably in the hands of any one, who has the habit or the power of discrimination, but without this restriction, for the reason intimated above, we cannot recommend it. It is designed for young readers, but not children. We can take but one extract from it, and that we choose because it gives useful advice much wanted at the present moment, and equally pertinent to Christians, doubters, and opposers. It closes the Chapter on the Evidences of Christianity. There are unbelievers, to be sure, with whom we should take a different course from that recommended in the second paragraph; but for the most part we do not doubt, that unbelief is in the heart more than in the mind; and this is a truth which cannot be too much considered by any class.

"1. Do not think there is no other side to this question. There are a great many things which may be said against the Bible, and some things which you, with your present attainments in Christian knowledge, perhaps, cannot answer. But they do not touch or affect the great arguments by which the authority of the Bible is sustained. They are *small, detached* difficulties. Then let your mind rest, calmly and with confidence, upon the great but simple arguments on which the strong foundations of your belief stand.

"2. Never be inclined to dispute upon the evidences of the Christian religion. The difficulty with unbelievers is one of the *heart*, not of the *intellect*, and you cannot alter the heart by disputing. When they present you with arguments against Christianity, reply in substance, "What you say seems plausible, still it does not reach the broad and deep foundations upon which, in my view, Christianity rests; and consequently, notwithstanding what you say, I still place confidence in the word of God.'

"3. Notice this, which, if you will watch your own experience, you will find to be true. Your confidence in the word of God and in the truths of religion will be almost exactly proportional to the fidelity with which you *do your duty*. When you lose your interest in your progress in piety, neglect prayer, and wander into sin, then you will begin to be in darkness and doubt. If you are so unhappy as to get into such a state, do not waste your time in

trying to *reason yourself* back to belief again. *Return to duty.* Come to God and confess your wanderings, and submit your heart to be inclined to him. If you do this, light for the intellect and peace for the heart will come back together." — *The Young Christian*, pp. 220, 221.

"The Corner-Stone" "is intended to be in some sense, the counterpart to the 'Young Christian.'" It aims to exhibit religious truth, by following the prominent features in the history, and the most important subjects in the teaching, of Jesus Christ. We are referred to him as a moral manifestation of the Deity; to his personal character as a man; to his message, or human duty; his reception, or human nature; his doctrine on punishment and pardon; his last Supper; the character of his crucifiers; his parting command, or the means of spreading the Gospel; and his parting promise, or the influences of the Holy Spirit. These subjects involve all the points in controversy at the present day; and we should not have thought it possible that they could have been treated by an Orthodox man with so little controversy as they are here, or so little of the spirit of condemnation and exclusion. We would not insinuate that Mr. Abbott yields or disguises his opinions. He shows clearly what they are, builds his whole appeal upon them, and appears to take their truth for granted, without stopping to discuss them, or to reprobate others. He evidently thinks lightly of some controversies which have been fiercely agitated in former and latter days; for he places among "questions of no practical consequence," such as these; "the origin of sin, the state of the soul between death and the resurrection, the salvation of infants, the precise metaphysical relationship of the Son to the Father." He opposes all material conceptions of God and heaven. He says there is "no visible Deity,"—that God is a spirit, having "no form, no place, no throne;" manifested only in his works, known only by what he does. This is a view which we have seldom seen carried to the extent to which Mr. Abbott carries it. We are not satisfied with his treatment of it. There is too much refinement and theory for common minds. We care not how strenuously he opposes the earthliness and materialism which weigh down many of the conceptions prevalent among Christians, and not least among those of his own faith. But it would do more good to direct this opposition to other subjects,

than to the personality of God. For his personality is opposed and refined away by the reasoning. If He is always to be as invisible to us as he now is, if He is but a "widespread, omnipotent *power*, — which we can never see, and never know, except so far as he shall manifest himself by his doings," — it will seem to many unmeaning language to call him a Being, or speak of being with him, or of loving and obeying him. It is as easy to believe, that we shall see God hereafter, and to understand how we can see him, as it is to understand how we are to see and know each other. The whole subject is above our reach, and should be left where the Scriptures leave it.

Nor can we see much reason or much use in Mr. Abbott's way of accounting for the institution of the Lord's Supper. His idea is, that every thing relating to its form, and the nature of the elements, was purely accidental. "The articles used, were those which, we may literally say, *happened* to be there," and he makes much of what followed to be of the nature of accident. He supposes our Saviour did not give a moment's thought to the consideration of what the thing or act should be, by which he was to be commemorated. "He first takes the bread which was upon the table, and pours out another cup of wine, and says, &c." And this is illustrated by reference to the time of the Deluge, when God "just takes the rainbow, the object most obvious on the occasion when it was wanted, as the token of his promised protection." We like neither the taste nor the tendency of this kind of writing. We have no superstition about the elements or any forms. But we think it desirable to use all caution, lest, in doing away their intrinsic importance, we do away their influence and frustrate their design. At the same time we agree with this writer in his general view of forms, and hope he will be able to induce all his readers to regard the ceremonies of our religion as "*means*, valuable only on account of their conduciveness to an end; and that end too, a moral, not a ceremonial one." But let none think that the end can be attained without the means.

Mr. Abbott's danger, considering him merely as a writer, lies in his talent and love for copious illustration. Valuable as the faculty is, and available as he often makes it, it leads him not seldom into fancied analogies, strained metaphors, and a diffuse style, by which his meaning is weakened, if not lost.

As a reasoner he is still more defective. He does not see, or he writes in such a way that his readers do not all see, the points of agreement between his imaginary cases and the truths to be illustrated. Add to these a radical weakness, to use a mild term, in the system on which he stands, a misapprehension of the very Corner-Stone of Christianity, and our objections to him are expressed. To show them more distinctly, we will not go over the whole volume in a fault-finding mood, but will take a single subject, which will let us sufficiently into his manner of enforcing doctrine, and lead us to consider one of the first principles of God's moral government.

The subject is that of Pardon, or divine forgiveness. It involves all the moral attributes of the Deity, and is substantially the subject of atonement. The history of this subject is one of the most instructive in the annals of the Christian faith. It may be doubted, if there is another word in the English language which has passed through so many changes of meaning, unchanged itself, as the word atonement. It seems to carry in its letters and sound, independently of signification, a potent charm. All who have ever used the word in their creed or worship, all who can answer in the affirmative the test-question, "Do you believe in the atonement," are accounted Christians. One would infer that no word occurred so frequently in Scripture, instead of the fact that it is found but once in the Christian Scriptures, and never in the Jewish in the sense of moral substitution. One would suppose it had a uniform, well known meaning, not that it has as many as the different ages, sects, churches, and teachers, who have adopted and made it essential. The virtue is in the word, beyond doubt; for no other word, however nearly approaching it, is allowed to represent it, no circumlocution or explanation will be taken, let it express what it may, not even that word which is the true meaning of the original, and is used by the translators of the New Testament in every instance but one, no, not "reconciliation" itself will suffice. It must be *atonement*. And if we venture, when questioned upon it, to ask what it denotes in the mind of the interrogator, the very question is heresy. We are not quibbling. The subject is far too solemn for any manner of trifling. It is one objection to the conduct of which we now speak, that it is itself trifling, in effect though not in purpose. It is trifling

with Scripture, to represent so much as depending on a single English word. It is trifling with principle, to make the very terms of our acceptance with God subject to a verbal, or in the narrowest sense doctrinal, test. If words alone were essential, or if we wished to obtain favor by the use of them, it would be easy to use the popular language on the subject of atonement, simply annexing to it mentally, as all do, that meaning which we believe to be its proper meaning. It would be easy also to find writers of our own name, who have used this language freely. With the early Polish Unitarians it seems to have been common. And those who call Unitarians of the present day Socinians, might be surprised, should they see in the Racovian Catechism, issued by the true Socinian churches, such language as this;—"Christ, by the divine will and purpose, suffered for our sins, and underwent a bloody death for an expiatory sacrifice."* Socinus himself uses similar language, followed by all the eminent Polish writers of his church and time. In the Geneva Catechism used in the Unitarian churches of Geneva and Switzerland at this time, there are such passages as this: "The death of Christ is to be regarded at all times, as the only sacrifice capable of obtaining from God the pardon of our sins." The early English Unitarians use much the same language, and sometimes stronger. Quotations from Emlyn, Clarke, and Taylor are before us to this effect, where the death of Christ is spoken of as "piacular and expiatory," and said to be necessary to make the pardon of sin consistent with the wisdom and justice of God &c.† Dr. Price, in his Sermons on the Christian Doctrine, says, "As the sacrifices under the law of Moses expiated guilt, and procured remission, so Christ's shedding his blood and offering up his life was the means of remission and favor to penitent sinners." And in this last clause, we believe all Unitarians of the present day would readily concur; that Christ's death was "the means of remission and favor to penitent sinners."

It is singular how near to this the language of Trinitarians and Calvinists comes. It is the only point in which they themselves agree, in regard to the atonement. They all use

* Racovian Catechism, Section V.

† Sparks's *Inquiry*, to which we are indebted, containing a brief but faithful history of opinions on this subject.

the word; but if you attempt to give that word such a definition as will express the views of all of them, it can only be such an one as the above from Price. Every variety, every shade of meaning, may be found annexed to the word atonement in the Orthodox church, ancient and modern; and we look in vain for any universal agreement except in this, that the sufferings and death of Christ were the *means* of forgiveness and salvation. Dr. Magee, whom, if any one, we have a right to regard as the representative of the party, holds this important language; "The sacrifice of Christ was never deemed by any, who did not wish to calumniate the doctrine of the atonement, to have made God placable, but merely viewed as a means appointed by divine wisdom, by which to bestow forgiveness;"—"the means, whereby God has thought fit to grant his favor and gracious aid to repentant sinners." From this, few probably would dissent. We know of no Unitarians, who do not believe that Christ's death was essential to that dispensation of grace, through which alone pardon is offered and salvation is to be obtained. Thus, while many Unitarians use the strong language of the Orthodox, the most noted of the Orthodox are compelled, when they would express the general faith, to use terms in which we all can unite. It teaches us the emptiness of verbal agreements and the madness of verbal warfare; especially when we reflect, that, after all, the great question remains unanswered, untouched; viz. *How* is the death of Christ the means of salvation?

This question, some recent writers, and Mr. Abbott is prominent among them, attempt to meet by familar *illustrations* of the manner in which Christ's death has purchased pardon for sinners. We are desirous of examining these illustrations, for they seem to us to mark a new chapter in the history of the atonement. Several years since an able writer in "The Christian Spectator" introduced some of them into a review of Butler's "Analogy," since published as an Introduction to a new edition of that work, with its author's name, Albert Barnes of Philadelphia, not unknown to us. He labors much to show, that substitution, which he regards as expressing the nature of the atonement, is as clearly a law of nature as of revelation. And his astounding proof of the fact is, that all men toil and suffer for each other, rescue each other from many woes, and purchase for each other many blessings. "Friends aid friends by toil; a parent foregoes rest for a

child; and the patriot pours out his blood on the altars of freedom, that others may enjoy the blessings of liberty,—that is, that others may not be doomed to slavery, want, and death." These, with various amplifications, are Mr. Barnes's instances of substitution in nature, and illustrations of the operation of the atonement. He affirms indeed that this is not all that is meant by that doctrine. That he should have thought it any thing to the purpose, and should call it *substitution*, shows us at once how widely that word has departed from its old meaning, how strangely strong sense may be distorted by system, and how constantly Calvinistic doctrines are softening their hard features and struggling to put on more rational and liberal forms. It is seen again in this inquiry of Mr. Barnes; "What, we ask, is the precise objectionable point in the atonement, if it be not, that God aids us in our sins and woes, by the self-denial and sufferings of another?" We could assure him, that, so far as we are concerned, we see nothing objectionable in that, and that he wastes his contempt, as well as betrays his ignorance, when he speaks of "the system of the Unitarians which denies all such substitution." No Unitarian would be at the pains to deny *such* substitution, unless it were to deny that it is any substitution at all. The only real case that he offers is that of the king of the Locrians, who, having made a law that the adulterer should be punished with the loss of his eyes, and, his son being the first offender, reconciled the justice of the king with the feelings of the father, by taking one of his son's eyes and losing one of his own. This was substitution, to be sure. We have seen it referred to before as an apt illustration and triumphant vindication of the old doctrine of vicarious suffering. But we are impelled to ask what kind of justice there is in it, and what human judge would be satisfied with such an execution of the law, or what system stand under it. We might ask too, if any honor is done to the Almighty and Merciful Father, by supposing him driven to such an expedient, or willing to inflict misery upon the innocent that he might thus clear the guilty. Ezekiel was of a different mind: "The son shall not bear the iniquity of the father, neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son."

We have adverted to these illustrations of Mr. Barnes, because they are the first of the kind that we remember to have seen advanced by a sensible writer of the present day.

We are yet more astonished to see similar illustrations used by Mr. Abbott, to whom we now return. He first gives us a story of "The Lost Cap," in substance as follows. In a New-England school, there occurred some difficulty one winter evening among the boys, when one of them, using the power of the strongest, seized a schoolmate's cap and threw it upon the ice, where by the wind and an increasing snow-storm it was driven off and lost from sight. Complaint was brought to the master; the boy who had lost the cap was in tears; he who had wronged him was penitent and troubled, and the whole school in suspense as to the result. The master was himself perplexed at first, seeing that it was unnecessary to punish the penitent offender on his own account, and yet unsafe to let it pass without some reproof and impression. His conclusion we must give in his own words.

"'Ah! I see what I can do,' thought he; 'I will take the suffering myself. Yes, I will forgive Joseph at once, and then I will go out myself and find the cap, or help them find it, and when the scholars see that the consequences of this offence come upon my head, bringing me inconvenience and even suffering, especially if they see me bear them with a kind and forgiving spirit, perhaps it will do as much good as punishing Joseph would do. Yes, I know that all my pupils, and Joseph among the rest, are strongly attached to me, and I am sure that when they see me going out into the cold storm, over the ice, and through the snow, to repair the injury which he has done, it will make a strong impression. In fact, it will, I am sure, touch them more effectually, and produce a much stronger dislike to such a spirit, than four times as much inconvenience and suffering inflicted as a punishment on Joseph himself.'" — *Corner-Stone*, p. 75.

The plan was carried into effect. The master exposed himself, in the view of all the boys, to the severity of the storm, brought back the cap after a long walk, and was satisfied that the desired impression was made in the school. That we may do Mr. Abbott no injustice, we will let him apply the illustration himself.

"Such a case is analogous, in many respects, to the measures God has adopted to make the forgiveness of human guilt safe. It is only one point, however, of the analogy, which I wish the reader to observe here, viz. that though the measure in question was a thing essential for the master *to do*, it was not essential for the criminal *to understand*, at the time he was forgiven.

"So in regard to the moral effect in God's government, produced by the sufferings of Jesus Christ, in preparing the way for the forgiveness of sin. The measure was necessary to render free forgiveness safe; but a clear understanding of its nature and of its moral effect is not always necessary to enable the individual sinner to avail himself of it." — *Corner-Stone*, p. 78.

This occurs in the third chapter, to illustrate Human Duty. In the beginning of the sixth chapter, on Pardon, the author reverts to it, as "an instance of what may be called *moral substitution*, — putting the voluntary suffering of the innocent, in the place of the punishment of the guilty." And, though he disclaims the idea of its being entirely analogous to the great plan of Christian redemption, he repeatedly says that it is analogous so far as the general principle of moral substitution is concerned. He then offers another illustration, in which an injury is done to a school-house, and the master overlooks it, because he sees that the offender is sufficiently punished, and all are impressed, by knowing that *he* will have to bear the consequences. Another case is that of the wanton destruction of the workmen's tools by some of the students of a College, all of whom, the guilty not being known, agree to repair the injury by a voluntary subscription, and thus the innocent share the punishment due to the guilty.

Now, in regard to all such illustrations, our first remark is, that they are wholly inadequate as measures by which pardon is rendered safe; the first purpose for which they are introduced. Let such cases frequently occur, and the same course be always taken, and what will be the effect? Will the moral impression upon the good be deepened with every repetition, and will that impression go to fix in their minds the distinction between right and wrong, the natural and just consequences of innocence and guilt? Will the moral impression upon the guilty be deepened with every repetition, and their escape from punishment by such means be always safe, whatever their feeling at the time? By no means. Let the boys of any school understand that their master will bear the consequences of whatever mischief they may commit, provided they appear penitent, — let the evil-minded students of every college know that their companions will share with them the penalty of all their sins, without their own detection, — and he who supposes such principles will stand, or such pardon be safe, has a much better opinion of human nature than we have. No doubt, such

a course will answer a better purpose occasionally than punishment; but there must be a sensitive and well-disposed mind in the offender, — the opposite of which must be supposed as a general case, — and uncommon evidence of reflection, gratitude, discernment, and permanent impression, in the characters of all interested. As a principle of justice, or a measure of government, it is sadly imperfect. At best, it does but illustrate the moral efficacy of compassion, disinterested love, and voluntary endurance, to impress the heart; which brings it much nearer our view of the atonement, than to any other.

And that is our next remark in relation to all these illustrations, that they do not reach the peculiarity, the true principle, of the Calvinistic doctrine of the atonement. What is that principle? If we allow Calvin himself to reply, he will tell us that Christ did not merely suffer voluntarily, "the just for the unjust, to bring us to God," as Peter thought, — but that God inflicted suffering upon him as punishment, — that "he sustained the character of a malefactor," it being requisite "that he should feel the severity of the divine vengeance, in order to appease the wrath of God, and satisfy his justice." Luther would answer us to the same purport, in still more horrible language, which we shudder to read, and will not write. Edwards comes but little short of it, when, with much more of the same kind, or worse, he says: — "Then the utmost that *vindictive justice demanded*, even the whole debt, was paid." If we apply to as late and learned a theologian as Professor Stuart, we learn, that he means by Christ suffering as our substitute, "that God did appoint and accept the sufferings of Christ instead of the punishment due to us as sinners against his law." Every one knows how much there is in every Calvinistic formulary and Orthodox writer, of the same kind. We quote so much of it, merely to contrast it with the illustrations we have considered. And we ask our readers if they would ever suspect, that such illustrations were designed for such a doctrine, or that the substitution of which Mr. Barnes and Mr. Abbott speak, bears the faintest analogy, in any one respect, to the substitution of Calvin, Edwards, or Stuart. No; to furnish any kind of parallel, or the semblance of application, the master should have told the trembling offender, in the case of the lost cap, that it was impossible for him to forgive him, until he had inflicted upon his innocent brother, or some one else, the whole punishment that was due to him. 'That you are peni-

tent is nothing. The law must be executed. Justice must have its course. One of your fellows, however guiltless, must step forth as your substitute, and bear the whole penalty to its last and bitterest pangs. Or, if some other being, the highest and holiest in the universe, will suffer in your stead, your sins and those of all around you, may be remitted. Justice being satisfied, mercy is free, pardon is safe.'

We are not conscious of the slightest overstatement here.—We have never seen the prevalent views of atonement expressed, even by its comparatively moderate advocates, without involving the supposition, that it was impossible, in the nature of things, that sin could be forgiven, whether repented of or not, until it had been legally and publicly *punished*. That we take to be the inherent, distinguishing principle of the popular doctrine. It is not merely, that an expression must be given of God's abhorrence of sin; it is, that there exists in the very nature of God, or his laws, an intrinsic impossibility that he can forgive sin, until it has been punished to the full, immediately, or vicariously. It is not merely, that a moral impression must be made in favor of the absolute necessity of holiness; that impression may be made in countless other ways, and bring the world to repentance and submission, and yet not reach the difficulty. A sacrifice must be offered, a victim must bleed, infinite satisfaction must be made to inexorable justice. When this has been done, every penitent soul may be pardoned, even though ignorant of the fact and the operation of the sacrifice. To this extent does Mr. Abbott go, and with greater explicitness than most writers, on this particular point. In the passages last quoted from him, it will be observed, that he thinks it not necessary that the sinner should understand the nature or effect of the measures adopted by God to render pardon safe. On the next page he tells us, in very pointed language, "Man could not have been forgiven, if Christ had not died; but he may be forgiven, and yet not know that Christ died, till he actually meets him in heaven." In this way only is the little child to be forgiven, through the expiatory sufferings of its Saviour, though it has no knowledge of these sufferings, and will not for years be able to understand their necessity or power. This is also applied to savages and heathen by Mr. Abbott; and, though strangely applied, we are glad to see, that he asserts the *possibility* of their being saved through the teachings of conscience and the working of repentance, without any knowledge

of the atonement or of Christ. Still conscience and repentance would not save them, — they could not be saved, — if Christ had not died. A Christian minister, thrown among these savages who had heard nothing of the kind before, thus gives them his last message.

"'There is a God,' he says to those around him, in his dying hour. 'He will punish the bad. Become good, and you will please him.'

"'Ah!' reply the savages, 'we have all been bad already, — very bad.'

"'Think not about the past,' he replies. 'It will be forgiven: — there is a way: — I cannot explain it. Leave your wickedness and do right, and God will save you.'" — *Corner-Stone*, pp. 79, 80.

A sensible, faithful, Christian sermon. We wish all missionaries would copy after it. But we can never agree to the principle on which it is here said to stand. We can never believe, that the same would not have been true, that the faithful minister could not have preached it, that Almighty God could not have sealed and fulfilled it, — but for a particular event, taking place in a particular way, on this little globe, four thousand years after man was placed upon it; an event, too, of which these savages knew nothing, of which they were not required to know any thing, by which, of course, they were not in the least impressed or affected, and which, while it was the only thing that rendered their salvation possible, contributed nothing toward the accomplishment of that salvation in their own souls!

This doctrine we regard as unreasonable, unscriptural, unsafe, and enormous. Yet this is the doctrine which may be seen through all the forms and disguises of the popular view of the atonement. We ask the advocates of that view to ponder it. We call them soberly to consider, what they are alleging; that a just and merciful Being cannot forgive sin, though repented of and forsaken, by virtue of any attributes or will of his own, any principles of his government or purposes of his creation, but must do it, if at all, solely through the expiatory sacrifice of an innocent infinite being. We acknowledge cheerfully, that all Trinitarians do not say this, and that some in high places disclaim it. Dr. Magee expressly disclaims it, both for himself and for the whole English Church; and though we doubt his authority to speak thus for all, we rejoice that he finds any reason for the declaration: — "That men *could* not have been forgiven, unless Christ had suffered to purchase their

forgiveness, is no part of the doctrine of the atonement, as held by the Church of England." Yet every man who has looked into the history of doctrines, knows that this has been the opinion of a great portion of Christians from an early day, and that it enters essentially, however unconsciously, into all Calvinistic creeds and sentiments. It is indeed the only material point in dispute, on this subject. The fact of the atonement, the efficacy of Christ's death, are admitted by all. But those of whom we speak go far beyond its efficacy, and insist upon its necessity, a necessity resulting, not from the nature of man, but from the nature of God; and, therefore, on God, not on man, are the sufferings of Christ to take effect. They may have, they do have, an effect on man; but they would not have this effect, or it would not avail, had they not first made satisfaction to God, and reconciled his conflicting attributes, permitting him to be merciful, or, as it seems to us, *making* him merciful. We feel authorized to place this last emphasis, by language common in the old writers, and not unknown now; for we find it, to our surprise, even in so rational and elevated a writer as Dr. Wayland. Speaking of the change produced in the government of God by the death of Christ, he says: "Salvation is now as free to the human race as condemnation. If any one perish now, he has no one to blame but himself. The throne of God is now a mercy-seat."* The time has been, then, when God's throne was *not* a mercy-seat. The time has been, when salvation was *not* as free as condemnation, and when the perishing sinner could blame some one beside himself. And *whom* could he blame? We tremble to think what the answer must be.

This whole view rests upon an assumed fact and false reasoning. The assumption is, that justice in God requires every sin to be fully punished, whatever the disposition or conduct of the sinner afterward. Can this be proved? Is there aught in nature or Scripture to sustain it? Does justice in man require that every debt be paid, before the debtor can be released? Justice may require it, but it may also remit it. It may punish, it may, and often does, forgive. And Christ has taught us to ask our Father in heaven, to "forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors." There is not only the prayer, but the promise. "Forgive, and ye shall be forgiven." Indeed, had we time to refer particularly to Scripture, we should ask, with still greater boldness, where is the doctrine in question sustain-

* Wayland's Discourses, p. 178.

ed these? Where does the assumption just stated find a single passage to lean upon, or a legitimate inference to give it favor? If the Bible throughout does not teach the original, essential, perfect placability of God, it is to us an unintelligible book. — "Thou art a God ready to pardon, gracious and merciful, slow to anger, and of great kindness" — contains an assurance, which the law and the Prophets repeat in every variety of form. An Apostle teaches the same, in words seemingly written to refute the very error before us. "If we confess our sins, God is faithful and just to forgive us our sins" — where it is not merely mercy that forgives, but faithfulness and justice. The teaching, life, and character of our Saviour, are full, are eloquent in exhibiting the free mercy and unalterable placability of God. The parable of the prodigal son is enough, if not another line had been written.

We know there is an answer to all this. It is said to be itself the effect of the atonement, either in anticipation or consequence, so that no force is allowed to our reasoning. But force must be allowed to the word of God. And we challenge any man to find a syllable in the word of God, authorizing such an answer, or such a perversion of the plainest and strongest language. If the Scriptures do not teach that sin always has been, and always will be, forgiven on repentance, independently of the mode in which repentance is produced, it cannot be taught in human phrase. You cannot express that truth, if it is not expressed again and again in the Bible. You cannot refute, you will not deny, the position, that repentance is there made the condition of forgiveness, as clearly and emphatically as words can do it; or rather, we should say, repentance with obedience, for mentally we always connect them. These constitute the first condition of acceptance ever named in Scripture. God said unto Cain, "If thou doest well, shalt thou not be accepted? and if thou doest not well, sin lieth at the door." Remember all the promises to the chosen people of full blessing on these same terms. Remember that beautiful passage in the 55th chapter of Isaiah: "Let the wicked forsake his way, &c." Remember and reperuse the whole of the 18th chapter of Ezekiel, and invent a meaning for such an assurance as this: "When the wicked man turneth away from his wickedness that he hath committed, and doeth that which is lawful and right, he shall save his soul alive." Turn to the New Testament. What was the preaching of John? Re-

pentance. Of Christ? Repentance. Of Peter and Paul? "Repentance towards God, and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ." Are we told that this last clause subverts our whole reasoning? How? Does faith in Christ necessarily mean faith in certain views of his death? That again is an assumption. But grant it. Whatever that faith be, it is to affect the sinner only, and lead him to repentance as the only condition of pardon. Let it be observed, too, that repentance and forgiveness are often connected with each other, and with the sufferings of Christ, as the very purpose of those sufferings. We can give but one passage, but that is from Christ himself after his death, and is one of the few cases in which he speaks directly of his own sufferings: "Thus it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day, and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations." Repentance and remission of sins! Let them never be separated. Let them be presented and weighed, as the great objects to be accomplished by the life and death of Christ. And let others follow the example of such men as Paley and Tillotson, whose view may be seen in the title of a single sermon. Paley has it, — "The Efficacy of the Death of Christ consistent with the Necessity of a Good Life; the one being the cause, the other the condition of salvation." And Tillotson, — "Christ the Author, and Obedience the Condition, of Salvation." If we were to write our creed on this whole subject in a few words, we could hardly find better.

But again we hear objections. First, it is said, as before, that if it be so, it is all by virtue of the atonement alone. We can only reply, as before; It is an assumption; prove it. Secondly, it is said we thus confound repentance with obedience. Do not the Scriptures authorize us, not to confound, but to connect the words as inseparable? Is not the meaning of the original word for repentance, *reformation*, and is not reformation obedience? Such is the teaching of Christ and the Apostles. Such is the teaching of experience and fact. Repentance can be proved only by obedience. If it come short of obedience, it is not thorough repentance. This is clear; and yet we apprehend it is not considered, but is one of those verbal differences which keep alive disputes more than real differences. Trinitarians appear to use the word repentance as synonymous with penitence, denoting only sorrow for sin. Taken in that sense alone, it is evident that it is not, and

cannot be, the condition of salvation. We use it, as we think the Scriptures and reason require, to denote reformation, obedience; and then it is as evident that it is, and must be, the condition of salvation. But, at this point, a third objection meets us. To make repentance, or obedience, a condition of salvation, is to put salvation on the ground of merit. We answer, You might as well say, to make faith a condition of salvation, is to put it on the ground of merit. Faith is as much a personal property as obedience. It is as much an individual act; for faith, all admit, is dead without works. If a man attain salvation by faith in some truth or doctrine, it is as truly his own work, as if he attain it by obedience; and he is as much in danger of being proud of it, and making it a ground of merit or claim. Faith alone is certainly the easiest of all conditions, and the most dangerous. It is only by making it comprise repentance and obedience, that you make it scriptural and guard it from abuse. And, after all, what is this but another dispute about words? What do we mean by a *condition?* We mean that which is essential, that without which the object will not be attained, the promise will not be fulfilled. Now, do not all hold, that obedience is essential? Yes. Can any man be saved without it? No. It is then a condition, if we know the meaning of the word. It is a condition, if any thing you can name is such, and implies as little human merit, and authorizes as little human claim, as any feeling, exercise, opinion, or act. A fourth objection asks, If repentance and obedience are sufficient, where is the need of a Saviour or of an atonement? Why did Christ die? Most plainly, to *produce* repentance and obedience. Christ died, "the just for the unjust, to bring us to God." The other doctrine requires us to read, 'Christ died to bring God to us.' The Apostle says, "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself." Is not that a sufficient object? Is not the work of reconciliation, the work of faith, repentance, and obedience, great and difficult enough, to call for all the interposition and manifestation, all the miracles and wonders, the promises, threatenings, and sanctions, of the gospel dispensation? Reverse the construction of the above and similar passages, suppose them to mean that 'God was in Christ reconciling himself to the world,' as some systems imply, and we may with reason ask, What is the need of the atonement? Was not God willing always to be reconciled, and able to be reconciled, to his repentant and obedient children?

Could any thing be necessary, except to make them repentant and obedient? And is it for us to say, that such means, such sufferings and sacrifices, such a life and death as Christ's, were not necessary, or cannot be effectual, to bring men to repentance? It were a bold assertion. We prefer to say, with an Apostle, "Christ gave himself for us, to redeem us from all iniquity, and to purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works." It may look strange to some, to see "good works" so intimately connected with the sacrifice of Christ, as its very object. But the singularity, if it be such, and the blame, must rest with the Apostle, not with us, though we are very willing to share it. Understanding by "good works," fidelity, obedience, the whole work and duty of the Christian, we have no fear that they will ever be too common, or be made too important. It is easier to despise, than to maintain good works.

But you have not yet met the case, many will tell us. You have not come to the foundation on which our view, and the only true view of the atonement, stands. It is not a doctrine of reason, but of revelation. It is taught in Scripture again and again; and, whether it seem necessary or not, reasonable or otherwise, we will receive it. This is no place to go into the Scripture argument. We know the force of Scripture language on this subject. It is strong. It is peculiar. The death of Christ is spoken of as no other event is. A very solemn importance is ascribed to it. We have no wish to deny that importance; nor should we dare to say, if disposed, that there is no connexion between this event and human salvation, except that of moral influence. Still we see nothing that *requires* a belief in any other connexion or influence. We find a meaning, and as strong a meaning, for all the language of Scripture, on our own scheme, as any. The strongest language ever used is of the kind in which Christ is said to "wash us from our sins in his own blood." Now it is, of course, impossible to understand such language literally. And it is as fair a construction, to suppose it means the moral efficacy of Christ's death in purifying the soul, as to draw from it a literal sacrifice. Peter speaks thus of Christ: "Who his own self bare our sins in his own body on the tree, that we being dead to sin, should live to righteousness; by whose stripes ye were healed." Here are two of the strongest expressions ever applied to the efficacy of Christ's sufferings, — "bare our sins in his own body on the tree," and "by whose stripes ye were healed"; yet they are

here said to have a purely moral design, — to cause men to die to sin and live to righteousness. The same may be shown of all expressions and figures connected with this subject. There is no fairness, there is no regard to the laws of interpretation, or of charity, in fixing upon them invariably one technical sense, and forgetting or condemning that which is quite as obvious and more consistent. For we ask if any man living believes that the blood of Christ does of itself cleanse from sin, by its own inherent virtue? Has the death of Christ a *necessary* efficacy, a universal and irresistible efficacy? Will it save any man, until it has turned him from sin? Will it save him in any other way, except by turning him from sin? And how can it do this, except by its moral action, like all truth and motive, all sanctions and means, on the conscience and the character? It is remarkable, that all views of the atonement, and all appeals upon it, lead ultimately, if not directly, to this, its moral efficacy. And they all sometimes imply that this moral efficacy is enough. Thus Dr. Wayland, in close connexion with the singular language already borrowed from his discourse on the "Moral Efficacy of the Atonement," speaks of Christ's death in these terms: "The very fact which it reveals, when suitably contemplated, infuses into the soul a moral vigor, by which it rises superior to the thraldom of its lusts, and stands forth in all the loveliness and all the dignity of a new creature in Christ Jesus." Now suppose this effect to be produced in some other way, without an expiatory offering. Will the writer of that passage say it would not be as availing to salvation, or that God could not as freely accept it? Is it the method that God most regards, or the effect which is produced? It will not do to say, that no other means can produce the same effect. Whether that be true or not, it does not reach the difficulty, which lies in the assertion, that God could not pardon in any other way, on any other condition. According to this system, he does not pardon because of the sinner's repentance and submission, but because of Christ's death. And yet, we again ask, did that death ever procure pardon for any one, except by working in him repentance and submission? Is not the whole efficacy conditional? Let Professor Stuart answer: — "Atoning blood, extensive and gratuitous as the favors are which it proffers, never proffers one *unconditionally*. The sinner must be humbled and penitent, who is sprinkled with it." Might he not have added, to be sprinkled with it, is to be humbled and

penitent through its moral power? It is the very purpose, operation, and definition of the sprinkling. And both these writers just quoted prove it, when they insist so much on the marvellous effects that have followed the preaching of Christ crucified; especially in the case of the Moravian missionaries, who made no impression on the Greenlanders by preaching the common truths of religion, until they held up a suffering, bleeding, dying Saviour, — then the effect was immediate and astonishing. Omitting all other remarks on such facts, we have only to say, that we see in them nothing which favors any other views of this subject so much as our own. They prove that the death of Christ is calculated to have, and does have, a prodigious effect on the hearts and consciences of men. We devoutly believe it, and consider it one great purpose, if not the chief efficacy, of that event.

If we have not exhausted all patience, we would consider one other view. It is one that appears to pervade all Calvinistic reasoning on sin and forgiveness, justice and mercy. It may be briefly presented in this form. God is just and true, as well as holy. He has said, "The soul that sinneth, it shall die." Now, if that soul escape death, if by its own repentance it can avert the threatened punishment, where is the veracity of God, where the dignity or safety of his government? This is the argument. We could not believe sensible men would advance it, had we not so often seen it in their books, and recently heard it from their lips. Its fallacy is twofold. Of God's veracity, it is to be remembered, that, while He has said, "The soul that sinneth shall die," He has also said, "The soul that turneth from its sin shall live." His veracity is pledged for the one assurance as solemnly as for the other. Besides, every one knows, that all the divine promises and threatenings of moral good or evil are conditional. Look at Hezekiah. Look at Nineveh. Look at the many instances in the history of the ancient people, in which God is said to have repented of the evil that he had threatened, and withheld it, on account of the penitence and prayers of individuals or communities. But what are we attempting to establish? — that God will not reject and destroy those who return from their wanderings to serve him. The very attempt seems to us almost profane, and we leave it. But will those who differ from us explain how the difficulty is avoided on their own hypothesis. There stands the sentence, "The soul that sinneth, it shall

die." Christ dies, and that soul is saved. But where is God's veracity? You have but adopted another method of avoiding the same fancied difficulty. You have only supposed another condition to have been annexed to the threatening; with this difference, that your condition was not named, while ours was distinctly announced at every proclamation of the law. "Repent, and turn yourselves from all your transgressions, so iniquity shall not be your ruin." "Turn yourselves, and live ye."

'But the dignity of God's government and the safety of his kingdom, where are they? It is not safe to forgive sin on repentance. No government can abide such a process. No law can stand. It is not *safe*.' That is, if sinners are forgiven on repentance, all men will repent! Of all superficial reasoning, we cannot recall any that surpasses this. Take it in Dr. Beecher's strong terms. "It is not a subject of momentary doubt, that pardon upon the simple condition of repentance would break the power of every human government on earth." Granted. But would it break the power of the divine government? Pardon upon the simple condition of *faith*, would break all *human* governments. Forgiveness purchased by the sufferings of a *substitute* assuredly would. But let the quotation proceed. "And does God govern the universe, upon principles which would fill the earth with anarchy, and turn it into a hell?" * If we believed that God governed the world on the principles of vindictive justice and vicarious suffering, the punishment of the innocent to save the guilty, and the punishment of the guilty, though penitent, to save the law,—we should fear to answer that bold question. And if a question can be framed, that will go to the conviction of a Calvinist and the destruction of Calvinism, it would seem to be such an one as this. On the other hand, we do not see what kind of anarchy would follow the forgiveness of any who had forsaken their sins. Let earth be filled by those who have been induced by the Gospel to turn from Satan to God, and it would present a scene unlike any that we have supposed to be intended by "a hell."

One of two radical errors infects all such reasoning. Either it is supposed, that repentance means only sorrow for sin without a change of character, or it is forgotten that there is an infinite difference between human and divine systems, perfect and imperfect knowledge or power. The first error has been

* Beecher's Sermon on the "Gospel according to Paul."

noticed, and is too palpable to detain us. The second is common even with good writers and otherwise acute reasoners. Mr. Abbott covers many pages with the case of Dr. Dodd, to show, that, notwithstanding his previous character, his deep contrition, the universal sympathy, and countless petitions for mercy, that unhappy man could not be pardoned because it was not *safe;* and the inference seems to be, that it is never safe for God to pardon an unpunished offence, however deeply repented of. Here things finite and infinite are confounded. Human and divine laws have entirely different objects; the first, to protect the community, the last, to impress and purify the heart. And it is singular, that Mr. Abbott, who well defines the difference in another place, did not see its application here. In truth, this writer has overturned his own reasoning, by the simple remark and the all-important distinction, — "Dodd was not punished for guilt, he was punished for crime." It is so with human governments always. They deal with crime; God deals with guilt. They look to the act; God to the motive. They arraign the hand; God the heart. A man may meditate murder; can the law reach him, can men touch him, if he do not commit it? God can reach him, and will judge him. So of forgiveness. Human governments never forgive in the sense in which God forgives. They cannot. They may release from prison and corporal punishment. But God releases from guilt and its sting. For this he has graciously interposed, — to deliver us, not from vengeance, but from guilt. For this Christ lived and died, — to save us from our sins, not from sanguinary justice. "He shall save his people from their sins." He came to remove the cause, more than the consequences. Salvation itself is deliverance from sin, rather than from its effects, for some of them must follow it. Forgiveness is remission of sins, and sins cannot be remitted unless they are forsaken.

Let men think of their sins. Let them see in their own guilt the only obstacle to forgiveness and salvation. There is no obstacle, there never was, there never can be, in the character or laws of God. There is no obstacle in the promises or threatenings of the Gospel. It is Sin, and nothing else. Let the promises and threatenings of the Gospel, the truth of God, the life and death of Jesus, rebuke this sin, — awe, subdue, melt it into submission, penitence, and obedience. With these forgiveness comes. In these there is salvation. Christ died,

not to make God willing or able to forgive, but to make man capable of being forgiven. "God, having raised up his son Jesus, sent him to bless you, in turning away every one of you from his iniquities." Christ "died for all, that they which live should not henceforth live unto themselves, but unto him which died for them and rose again."

ART. II. — *Manual Hebrew Grammar. For the Use of Beginners.* By J. SEIXAS. Second Edition.

WE recently invited the attention of our readers to some remarks on the classical instruction of boys; and we embrace this occasion to continue the subject, in connexion with the book, the title of which we have given above. We take this method, because the principles on which Mr. Seixas's Grammar is made deserve an attentive examination, and will serve to introduce some remarks on the study of the elements of Latin and Greek grammar. No apology is necessary for bringing the subject of classical instruction repeatedly before our readers. The amount of time wasted by the young in this department of study ought to awaken the attention of all who have ability and opportunity to examine the subject. Every step in the course of classical instruction should be investigated, till the faults of the prevailing system are discovered and corrected.

A favorable opinion of Mr. Seixas's Grammar was expressed in our pages on the appearance of the first edition of the work. The commendations then given need not be here repeated. — Preparatory to the remarks which follow, however, we would say, that the method pursued in this Grammar, and the principles on which the method is founded, are widely different from those of most grammars, and are, we believe, demonstrably correct.

We proceed to exhibit the method employed in this Grammar, compared with the method of grammars in general use; and then, to examine the principles on which these methods respectively are based.

The first peculiarity noticeable, on opening the Hebrew Grammar before us, is the absence of paradigms. This pecu-

liarity constitutes the leading characteristic of the work, and to this our attention will be principally directed. For the convenience of our readers, as well as to subserve the main object of our remarks, we shall take our illustrations of Mr. Seixas's method and principles from the Latin Grammar.

We will suppose, then, a Latin Grammar put in our hands, made on the same principles as the Hebrew Grammar before us. Its chief peculiarity, at first view, is that it has no paradigms. Before judging of the expediency of an omission apparently so important, it is proper to inquire, what substitute is provided to answer the same end?

Instead of paradigms, we find *tables of terminations*, indicative of the relations and circumstances of the words to which they are attached. To illustrate: in nouns of the first declension, instead of repeating the series, *penna, pennæ*, &c., through all the cases and both numbers, the terminations simply are given, as, *a, æ, am, arum, as*, &c., to indicate respectively the relation in which the thing expressed stands in different places. Thus, *arum* signifies *of*, and also expresses the plural number. When this is understood by the pupil, the word *pennarum* is instantly rendered *of pens*, without going through the process of declension from the nominative singular, till he comes to the given form. The association is direct between *arum* the termination, and *of*, which it always indicates. It is not the least of the advantages of this method that it leaves the teacher at liberty to bring before his pupil only one or two of the most common terminations, and those expressive of the simplest relations, at first, leaving the more difficult ones to be learned, after practice has made the easier ones perfectly familiar. But on this point we shall speak more particularly in another place. Let us pursue the illustration we had begun, by means of the *verb*.

The paradigm, which in the Latin verb contains near two hundred forms, is omitted. Its place is supplied by a table, giving the various terminations which indicate the circumstances of the action. Thus the pupil, when he meets with a verb, the number, person, &c. of which he does not instantly recognise; instead of being sent to hunt through the labyrinth of hundreds of forms, till, haply, he lights on the form corresponding to the one in his lesson, is taught to look directly at the termination, and to associate, directly with it, its proper signification. Thus in *leginus*, for example, the termination

is *mus;* and this at the end of a Latin verb always means *we.* Let *curantur* be the given word. The pupil has learned that the termination *nt*, or *ntur*, means they, and the translation is done. *Legit* means he, or she reads, because from the table the pupil has learned that the termination *t*, or *tur*, signifies he, or she. The application of this method in determining the number and person of verbs is obviously very easy. An objection to the system, as a whole, may, perhaps, be stated in the form of an inquiry, how the *mode* and *tense* are to be determined.

We answer, In the same manner as the number and person; by knowing what is the appropriate sign of each mode and tense, and where these signs are to be found. The pupil is taught that the letters and syllables, which indicate the mode and tense, immediately precede the termination which indicates the number and person. Thus *ba*, preceding the termination, indicates the imperfect tense: *ama-t*, he loves; *ama-ba-t*, he *was* loving. *Docebant* is analyzed into three parts: *doce-ba-nt*, each of which parts has its appropriate signification; and if the pupil has learned the forms in the appropriate table, his eye no sooner rests on the word than the analysis is made, and the meaning of the whole word given. We do not here enter into the question, whether the parts into which the verb is divided, in this analysis, were originally distinct words. This question, however interesting in a philosophical study of etymology, has no connexion with our present design.

We have pursued the analysis of verbs sufficiently to point out the track which we follow. Every variety of circumstance and relation has its appropriate indication, and this indication occupies its own place in the verb, which it never changes. — The system under review teaches the pupil to look for each element in its appropriate place, and to associate directly with it the English word, or syllable, which expresses its meaning.

We have already sufficiently expressed our approbation of the method sketched above; and we now proceed to an examination of the principles on which it is founded. We enter on this part of the subject with an earnestness, we beg leave to say, which has been awakened by some toil and experience in classical instruction, and with a confidence resulting from a successful application of the principles we advocate.

What is requisite, then, in order to learn a foreign language? First, to know the words of the language to be learned; and

then, to associate, with each word, the vernacular word, or words expressing the same meaning. This is the whole process, so far as the subject before us is concerned. The translation of idioms belongs to a higher department of grammar than is embraced in this discussion. Let it be distinctly kept in mind that the process of learning a language is simply that of associating, with the successive words of the language to be acquired, the vernacular words expressing the same meaning. It need not be said that the more direct and unincumbered the association is, the more rapid and pleasant will be the acquisition.

The method detailed above is an application of these principles in their simplest form. The association is direct, between each element of the foreign language and the corresponding word in the vernacular.

The correctness of this principle might be shown, if necessary, by reference to other branches of study. Every art and science, if taught rightly, must be taught in its simplest elements. We should hardly be excusable for dwelling on a point so plain, were it not for its great importance. To make it, however, as clear as possible, we beg leave to draw an illustration from the same department of study in which we now are. Every one, in any degree acquainted with the Greek or German language, knows the great advantage to be derived, in acquiring these languages, from analyzing compound and derivative words into their first elements, and arriving at the meaning of the words through the medium of this analysis. The method of teaching grammatical forms, exhibited above, is only a further application of the same principle. Objections are sometimes made to this method of teaching grammatical forms, under the impression that boys cannot be made to remember the forms without the supposed aid of paradigms. The objection would not deserve serious notice, were it not that intelligent men, and experienced teachers even, have proposed it. Of what possible use, we ask, is the association which connects words in the order in which they are given in a paradigm, an order in which they never occur in reading the language. That a boy may remember that *amamus* means *we love*, must he be made to think of *amo*, *amas*, *amat*, first? On this system the first person singular is made a talisman to call up a whole series, only one of which has any duty to perform on the occasion. They wake at the watch-word, troop through

the brain in regular file, and depart. Such a habit is formed in the first stage of study, and is continued, till long practice in reading the language has worn it away. Why is such a habit formed? we ask. Is the mind a machine, and that so ill constructed that, in order to perform a certain amount of work, it must perform as much more besides, losing half its power from friction, and from the luggage of useless wheels? Why, we ask again, is the habit of which we have spoken ever formed at all?

It is said that, in every branch of learning, elements must be committed to memory, which, in more advanced stages, may be forgotten.

We answer, that what we speak of is no element of the Latin language. The connexion of the first person singular with the second person singular, as *amo* with *amas*, never occurred since the days of Romulus. To impose on the pupil the task of committing to memory a series of words which have no natural connexion, is as absurd as to require him to commit the columns of a dictionary.

The error here pointed out lies at the foundation of much of the disgust at the ancient languages felt by boys in their early studies; a disgust, which, in its remote effects, will, to a great extent, explain the almost total neglect of these languages by our educated men after leaving college.

We might here close our remarks, did not justice require a statement of some further advantages connected with the system of which we have spoken. We said a few words on this point, in the early part of our remarks, and promised to speak more fully in another place. A leading defect in the usual method of instruction is, that the pupil is obliged, at the commencement of his studies, to learn much that he has no occasion to apply in practice, till he is somewhat advanced in his course. In the simple narratives first put into his hands, almost all the verbs are in the *third person*. Common sense would direct that this termination should be first taught him, leaving the terminations of the other persons, till practice has made him perfectly familiar with that which is most common. The same remarks may be made respecting the modes. Simple sentences exhibit only the indicative mode. This mode, then, should be first taught, and its forms made perfectly familiar. The usual method, however, instead of conducting the pupil step by step, and giving him time to dwell on each till

he is master of it, plunges him, at once, into number, gender, and case, in nouns, the agreement of adjectives with nouns; and into the labyrinth of all the conjugations of the verbs, in each of which are to be learned mode, tense, person, and number; to say nothing of some hundred forms of the pronouns, crowding on the learner at every turn.

The mischiefs of this course may, indeed, be in a measure avoided by a judicious teacher, but, with the books in present use, it must be done under great disadvantages; and, besides, it is too much to expect, or to require, teachers to adopt a course contrary to the whole plan on which the text-books of their profession are made. The evils spoken of will continue, then, with few exceptions, so long as grammars are what they now are.

It is hardly necessary to say, that the plan proposed above relieves the teacher from the necessity, and almost from the opportunity, of pursuing this unnatural method. The pupil's mind may be first directed to those elements which are necessary in order to understand single words, and the simplest combinations. The memory need not be burdened with a single form, which his lessons in reading do not give him occasion to use.

We did not design to occupy the reader's time with the details of instruction; but the occasion seems too favorable to omit indicating, as briefly as possible, the outlines of a course of elementary instruction in the languages.

It is obvious that the names of things should be the first objects of study in acquiring a language. The first observation, in this connexion, is, that only the most obvious relations of things should first be brought to view. Taking our illustration from the Latin, after learning the form of the nominative case, in both numbers, the form of the genitive case should be learned, and no other case should be introduced till considerable practice has made these two perfectly familiar, and has given the pupil ready command of every form of their combination. At this stage of study, the form of adjectives, of the nominative and genitive case, and their agreement with nouns should be learned, and made familiar by practice. The way is then open for the introduction of verbs, of which only the forms of the indicative mode and of the third person should be first learned; delaying any notice of the subjunctive mode, till familiarity with the principal

forms and the construction of the simple sentence shall prepare the way for combining sentences, when the subjunctive mode may be introduced, with its appropriate particles.

After the forms of the indicative mode are made familiar, an *object* may be *connected* with the verb, and this is the proper time to introduce the accusative case. Introduced in this way, its relation to the verb is at once seen; the pupil will need no rule to teach him the design and appropriate situation of the accusative case.

After the relation of the accusative case with the verb has been learned, and the application of it made familiar by practice, the ablative case may be learned, expressing the instrument, manner, time, &c.; and then the dative may be introduced, as expressing the indirect object, or the person, to or for whom a thing is done.

The process, pursued thus far, leaves the pupil at the point where, according to a previous suggestion, the subjunctive mode, with its appropriate connectives may be introduced. This course, it is evident, will obviate much of the difficulty, which beginners feel, in the construction of the particles appropriate to the subjunctive mode.

Prepositions, with the cases which belong to them, may be learned better, perhaps, before the subjunctive mode, than after it. Pronouns may be introduced, by degrees, in connexion with nouns.

We shall enter into no further detail of the method of teaching the elements of language. To those who see the principles embodied in the preceding sketch, further detail would be unnecessary; and for others, the little which our limits would permit us to say would be insufficient.

We are not without hopes that the foregoing remarks will afford some assistance to those classical teachers who are aiming at something higher than a salary merely; and we shall be happy, if the hints we have given shall be the means of expediting, in any degree, the desired improvements in our books of elementary classical instruction.

ART. III. — *The Spirit of Hebrew Poetry.* By J. G. HERDER. Translated from the German by JAMES MARSH. In two volumes. 12mo. 1833. Burlington.

THE poetry of Germany, with the other branches of its elegant literature, has begun to receive in our mother country some degree of the attention, which is due to the products of the genius and culture of a kindred nation. Within a few years past, they have been rescued from the hands of incompetent translators and anonymous critics, who seem to have been impelled to their literary undertakings by no other motive than that of hunger, and made the subject of profound and generous study. The race of such interpreters as Taylor of Norwich appears to be passing away; and there is reason to hope that such monuments of prejudice and narrow-mindedness, to say nothing of scanty and superficial information, as his "Historic Survey of Germany Poetry," will not often be imposed on the good nature of unsuspecting readers.* Under the auspices of sound and liberal scholars, like Carlyle, Hayward, and Mrs. Austin, the English public are in a fair way of obtaining access to the literary treasures of their Teutonic neighbours; and even we, who are not within the borders of European cultivation, may hope to receive some share of the spoils.

We cannot make so favorable a report of the prospects of German Theology. Neither that, nor any of the various schools of philosophy, which have sprung up in Germany, within the last fifty years, has received tolerable justice at the hands of English scholars. We are by no means in possession of the results produced by the intense and powerful action of the masterly intellects, which have been directed to those interesting subjects, since the skepticism of Hume spread a general alarm, and awakened the adherents of a traditional faith to inquiry and examination. It is rather singular, that, in our own country, where a zeal for religion and a love of speculation, form a part of our birthright, we should have given so little attention to the labors of others, who have explored every part of the field on which we are employed ourselves. It is said that the great points, which have been made the subject

* See note at the end of this article.

of theological discussion among us, the nature and evidences of revelation, the foundation of religion in the human soul, the character of Christianity, the connexion between Jesus Christ and God, the hope of immortality, have been so thoroughly discussed by the divines and philosophers of Germany, that there is hardly a theory or a doctrine that has not been examined; and it would not be extravagant to believe, that, amid the comparison of so many opinions, by men of learning and sense, some light would be struck out, that would well repay the trouble of giving it an attentive consideration. We are by no means so enthusiastic as to suppose, that a knowledge of German theology would settle any controversies now pending; but we think it very possible, that a sober examination of its achievements might present some facts or points of view, which would be of service to us in our inquiries, although they had escaped our notice in the course of our own personal studies. At any rate, the massive learning, which we believe it is universally admitted the German theologians possess, might be of great use to many of us, who are so involved in the practical business of life, as to have little opportunity for original investigation, but who still like to be informed as to what wise men have thought before us.

On this account, we rejoice in any step that is taken towards a deeper insight into the theological literature of Germany. We think it is well not to be quite ignorant of what a nation of thinkers, of the same good old Saxon stock with ourselves, have been doing for half a century, in the most important of human concerns. If any fear evil to our faith or morals from such knowledge, they will perhaps be quieted with the assurance that the "antidote" flows from the same fountain with the "bane,"—that if startling errors have been maintained by German theologians, it is also by German theologians that these errors have been assailed and put down.

With such impressions of the value of German writers on theology, we certainly welcomed the appearance of the work selected by Professor Marsh for translation. It has been a common fault to translate obsolete or indifferent works of second-rate writers. Our ideas on German theology are often formed from such imperfect specimens. This fault has been avoided by Professor Marsh. The author he has selected, is on many accounts, one of the most interesting he could have taken. Herder is one of the great historical names in Ger-

man literature. His theological works are a treasure of learning, refined from the dross and base admixtures of the mine, and wrought up into the most beautiful and winning forms. It is seldom that we meet with a writer, whose soul is so penetrated with the true spirit of antiquity, and who is so capable of bringing up the faded past in vivid reality before the eye. "It seems, in reading him," says Madame de Staël, "as if we were walking in the midst of the old world with an historical poet, who touches the ruins with his wand and erects anew all the fallen edifices." He brings to his subject a freshness, a gushing enthusiasm, which spreads a charm over the driest details, and reminds us more of the eloquent conversation of a friend than of the learned discussions of a critic. Every thing is in motion, every thing has life, he is never languid himself, and he never permits languor in others; and we are led on from page to page of profound learning, of curious research, of wide and scholar-like investigation, with as little feeling of satiety or fatigue, as if we were reading a fascinating novel. He is unrivalled in the power of giving a picturesque beauty to the most barren subjects, so that the wilderness springs up into bloom and luxuriance under his magic touch. His own pure and noble spirit breathes through his productions. They seem to bring us into the presence of the author, where we hear his deep and thrilling voice, gaze upon his serene brow, and receive a revelation of his inmost heart. We cannot read them without knowing and loving the mind, from whose inspiration they proceeded. The great object of his life was the spiritual elevation of humanity; and, in his view, the means of its accomplishment was to infuse the spirit of Christ and his religion into the hearts of men. Such fervent love of man, such deep sympathy with Christ, such filial and noble conceptions of the great Father of all, are rarely united in any character; and these are so distinctly impressed on the whole face of his writings, that, in reading them, we feel that we are enjoying the intimate communion of an exalted and holy mind.

Herder was strongly attached to the poetry of the Old Testament. He delighted to wander in the spicy groves of the East, but the rose of Sharon was more to him than all the trees of the wood. One of his most important and characteristic works, which was the dream of his youth, and the labor of his mature years, though left at last in an unfinished state,

is the "Spirit of the Hebrew Poetry," of which Professor Marsh has given us a Translation. We ought to feel indebted to the literary enterprise and industry of an American scholar in undertaking and completing such a difficult task. Of the merits of the original work, it is not our purpose to say any thing here; but we are compelled to observe, that they find a very inadequate representation in this translation. In justice to Herder it ought to be stated, that he suffers much under the hands of Professor Marsh. The vivacity and animation which breathe from every page of the original are evaporated in the translation. The spirited and graceful style of Herder, in the composition of this work, would hardly be recognised in the new costume which is given to his thoughts. In several instances, which have fallen under our eye, we think that the translator has not rightly apprehended his author's meaning, or through haste or inadvertence has failed of expressing it distinctly. He often overlays the breathing life of the original with a thick shroud of words. In the translation of a less favorite author we should have been disposed perhaps to pardon even greater defects; but we are unwilling that a man like Herder should be judged of from an imperfect specimen, without pointing out its discrepancy with the original. *

* In the above criticisms on this translation, we have no wish to detract from its real merits. Many passages of difficult construction are rendered with a beauty and force, which none but a person of uncommon skill in the use of language could have attained. We think it far superior to most attempts at translation from German into English which we have seen, especially of those made in this country; and parts of it are certainly creditable to the taste and ability of Professor Marsh. But we cannot think, that it gives the reader so complete an idea of Herder, as should be aimed at in a work of such importance. In proof of our remarks, we subjoin a few passages, which will show the nature of our objections to the translation.

We take first the beautiful introduction to the second Dialogue.

"Die Morgenröthe war noch nicht angebrochen, als die beiden Freunde sich am bestimmten Ort, einer angenehmen Höhe von schöner Aussicht, zusammenfanden. Noch sahen sie alles formlos und in den Schleier der Nacht gehüllt vor sich liegen; da regte sich der Hauch der Nacht, und es erschien die liebliche Morgenröthe. Sie ging hervor, wie der Blick Gottes auf eine zu erneuende Erde; um sie schwebte die Herrlichkeit des Herrn und weihte den Himmel zu seinem prächtigen stillen Tempel. Je mehr sie sich erhob, je mehr hob und läuterte sich das goldne Blau; es sonderte sich von den Wassern, Nebel und Dünsten, die zur Erde fielen, bis es wie ein

There is no one among the theologians of Germany, who occupies a more interesting position, in the great religious movement, which commenced in that country, about the middle of the last century, than Herder. He formed a connecting link between the old school of Lutheran Orthodoxy and the modern school of Rational divines. The progress of his own mind seems, in some degree, to mark the progress of

himmlischer Ocean, wie ein Sapphir mit Golde durchwebt, dastand. Je mehr sie sich erhob, desto mehr hob sich die Erde; es theilten sich auf ihr die dunklen Massen, bis auch sie wie eine Braut dastand, geschmückt mit Kräutern und Blumen, und wartend auf den Segen Jehovens. Die Seele des Menschen heitert sich wie der Morgenhimmel; sie hebt sich aus dem Schlaf, wie die jungfräuliche Erde; keiner aber dieser angenehmen Augenblicke ist heiliger, als das Werden des Lichts, der Anbruch der Dämmerung."

The nearly literal translation which we subjoin of this and the following passages will help our readers to judge of the correctness of our strictures on Professor Marsh.

The morning dawn had not yet broke, when the two friends met at the appointed spot, a delightful eminence that commanded a beautiful prospect. As yet they saw every thing lie before them formless, and shrouded in the veil of night. Then the night-breeze stirred and the lovely dawn appeared. It came forth, like the glance of God, upon the earth, as it waited to be renewed. The glory of the Lord hovered around it, and consecrated the heavens as his magnificent and peaceful temple. As it rose higher and higher, the firmament of gold and blue rose also, and became purer; it separated itself from the waters, clouds, and vapors, which fell to the earth, until it stood there like a heavenly ocean, a sapphire interwoven with gold. As the dawn arose, the earth also seemed to rise. Its dark masses were divided, until it stood forth like a bride adorned with herbage and flowers, awaiting the blessing of Jehovah. The soul of man grows serene like the morning-heavens. It arises from sleep like the virgin earth, but none of these delightful moments is more holy than that of the approach of light, the breaking forth of the dawn.

Professor Marsh's Translation. "The first rays of the dawn were not yet visible, when the two friends found themselves together at an appointed spot, a delightful eminence, that furnished a wide and beautiful prospect. They saw before them all the objects of nature lying yet formless and undistinguished, for the night had wrapped them up in its veil of obscurity. But soon the night-breeze sprang up, and the morning appeared in its loveliness. Its going forth was as if the Almighty had cast a reviving look upon the earth and renovated its existence; while his glory accompanied it and consecrated the heavens as his magnificent and peaceful temple. The higher it rose, the more elevated and serene appeared the golden firmament, that gradually purified itself from the subsiding waters, clouds, and vapors, till it stood displayed, as an upper ocean, an expanse of sapphire interwoven with gold. In the same manner also the earth seemed to rise up before them. Its dark masses became distinguished, and at length it stood forth like a bride adorned with herbage and flowers and waiting for

theological opinion; and in his voluminous writings may be found the germ of most of the important thoughts, which have since produced such a mighty revolution in the prevalent conceptions of religion. The personal character of Herder was, moreover, singularly attractive and delightful. It combined many of the remarkable peculiarities of the German temperament with a certain English spirit of practical energy, which,

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the blessing of Jehovah. The soul of man elevates and purifies itself like the morning sky; it wakes and rouses itself from slumber like the virgin earth; but at no moment is the delightful view attended with such sacred awe as at the first existence of light, the breaking forth of the dawn."

The above is one of the happiest specimens of Professor Marsh's Translation. It has, however, too many words, and is not free from errors. "Läutern," *to purify*, is translated "to be serene"; and "heitern," *to make serene*, is translated "to purify." The words occur in different sentences, but they are mistaken for each other.

Turning back to the "Plan of the Work," Vol. I. p. 13, we find "nachforschen," *to inquire after, to investigate*, translated "to cherish a liberal curiosity." On the same page, "vorläufig," *preliminary*, is translated "prolonged." Probably mistaken for "weitläufig."

Page 14. "Welche Ideen der Vorwelt er weiter geführt oder verändert." (It points out) *what ideas of the former world he has carried out or changed.* Translated, "It points out, what conceptions, transmitted from more ancient times, he adopted and practically applied, and what he altered in this legacy of the Patriarchs."

Ibid. "Wodurch er die Poesie dieser Nation zu einer Hirten- und Landespoesie, zu einer Stimme des Heiligthums und der Propheten gebildet." *By what means he formed the poetry of this nation to be a pastoral and rural poetry, to be a voice of the sanctuary and of the Prophets.* Translated, "By what means he formed the poetry of the nation, gave it its pastoral and rural character, and consecrated it to the uses of the sanctuary and of the Prophets of Jehovah." Herder never wrote such balanced sentences. The figure of the voice, so characteristic of his mode of thinking, is lost in the translation.

Ibid. "Die Ursachen dieser Dinge werden aus der Geschichte entwickelt." *The causes of these things are unfolded from the history.*" Translated, "The causes, by which these effects were brought about, are unfolded out of the history of the race."

Ibid. "Es wird sodann die Geschichte selbst vom Gesetzgeber bis zum blühendsten und mächtigsten König des Volks fortgeleitet, unter welchem und dessen Sohne auch die zweite Blüthe der Poesie eintritt." *The history itself is then carried forward from the Lawgiver to the most flourishing and powerful king of the people, under whom and his son the second bloom of poetry appears.* Translated, "In the next place, the history itself is carried forward from Moses to the period of the highest national prosperity and of the most powerful king, under whom and his son occurred the second marked developement [!] of national poetry."

Ibid. "In ihr morgenländisches Licht gesetzt." *Placed in their*

taken together, formed a more instructive and beautiful specimen of human nature, than is usually met with in the intercourse of life. Herder has been described by one of his biographers as "the grand high Priest of Humanity, the unwearied seeker of spiritual Truth and Beauty," and as such, we intend to avail ourselves of this opportunity, to bring his personal character and services before our readers, with as minute a detail as our limits will permit. *

Oriental light. Translated, "Placed in that true Oriental light, which is necessary to a perception of their beauties."

Page 18. "Rechter Verstand der Worte, Bilder und Sachen giebt denen, die Gefühl haben, ohne viele Rede und Anpriesung, Begriff der Schönheit." *A right understanding of words, of images, and of things, gives the conception of beauty to those who have feeling, without much discourse and commendation.* Translated, "A right understanding of words, of figurative language, and of things, will give, without long discourses and a tedious explication of it, the conception of beauty to one who has the capability of emotion." "Anpriesung," *commendation,* is translated "a tedious explication."

Page 22. "Der schönen Sonne Aufgang." *The rising of the beautiful sun.* Translated, "The beautiful going forth of the sun in his milder radiance." Not to speak of eleven words for four, "Aufgang" is mistaken for "Ausgang." "Aufgehen," the original of "Aufgang," signifies to "go up," — hence "to arise," applied to the heavenly bodies. It never means "to go forth," which is one sense of "ausgehen."

Ibid. "Am höchsten Himmel." *In the highest heaven.* Translated, "In the highest heavens, and in meridian splendor." The last clause corresponds to nothing in the original, and enfeebles the whole sentence.

Page 23. "Aufgehen" is again translated "to come forth to us," instead of "to arise upon us." The beauty of the allusion is wholly lost.

Page 33. "Sie sind ganz Handlung und Bewegung; die Wurzeln derselben sind Bild und Empfindung." (The Hebrew verbs) *are all action and motion; their roots are image and feeling.* Translated, "They are all action and emotion. Their radical forms combine the representation of a sensuous image with the feeling of the heart." "Bewegung" is translated "emotion," instead of "motion." The rest of the sentence is a rare example of prolixity. Herder's spirit is not in it.

The passages which we have quoted are within the compass of a few pages, taken at random from the commencement of the first volume. We have examined other parts of both volumes, with the intention of testing their fidelity, and usually with similar results. Still, we do not hesitate to repeat, that although open to criticism, this translation exhibits a high order of talent, and deserves a place in the library of every lover of the Old Testament.

* The materials for Herder's Life may be found in "*Erinnerungen*

JOHN GODFREY HERDER was born on the 25th of August, 1744, at Mohrungen, a small village in the kingdom of East Prussia. His parents occupied a humble station in society, although one which exerted a favorable influence in many respects on the future character of their son. Godfrey Herder, his father, was the teacher of a female school, and united the offices of sexton and chorister in the village church at Mohrungen. He was a man of a serious and reserved cast of character, severely punctilious in the discharge of his duties, but of a kind and generous disposition. His mother, the daughter of a mechanic, appears to have been a woman endowed with uncommon natural gifts, and, as has often been remarked in the case of men of genius, many of her most distinguished qualities were inherited by her son. She possessed a strong understanding, sound judgment, industrious and quiet habits, and a rare union of piety and maternal affection with manners not often found in her station in life.

This wedded pair lived upon a small income, poor but not destitute; and by the order and regularity of their household, by their constant industry, and by their unostentatious and pious course of life, gained the esteem of all their acquaintance. A strong attachment to the religion of their fathers, habits of industry and order in the despatch of business, and a sincere mutual love, united the parents and children, brothers and sisters, of this family in the closest ties, and greatly alleviated the burden of their poverty.

After the labors of the day were over, the family were accustomed to unite in singing a hymn. The impression which this pious evening-song made on the mind of young Herder, was deep and lasting; and, many years after, he would often mention it, with sad and tender yearnings at the remembrance of his youthful home. The pious habits of his parents, their deep religious feeling, their simple, quiet, and industrious mode of life, their home-felt satisfaction in the performance of their duties, and their devoted love for each other, united with his own child-like reverence for their characters, early implanted in his heart the germ of religion and of the love of virtue. In this retired, domestic Paradise, hedged in with the thorns of

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aus dem Leben von Herder. Gesammelt und beschrieben von Maria Carolina von Herder." 21, 22, 23 Th. Sämmtliche Werke. Stuttgart. 1830.—"*Herder's Leben, neuarbeitet von Carl Ludwig Ring.*" Carlsruhe. 1832.—Prefaces and Notes in "*Herder's Sämmtliche Werke, von Johann Georg Müller.*" Stuttgart. 1830.

poverty, he was guarded against many of the follies and extravagances of youth. He gratefully acknowledged this beneficial restraint, and only regretted the poverty of his parents, because it deprived him of many advantages for study, and the power of obtaining an education suitable for his nature.

He was instructed in the first rudiments of learning at the public school of Mohrungen, which, at that time, was under the care of a person named Grimm, — a name, which, both in German and English, corresponds to the character of the man. This Grimm was an unmarried man, of solitary and reserved habits, but, in spite of his misanthropy, had gained the reputation of a deserving teacher, on account of his profound learning and unshaken integrity, and, for a long time after his death, was held in unaffected and grateful esteem by many of the inhabitants of Mohrungen.

This early instructor was never mentioned by Herder, but in terms of respect. "Severe as he was," Herder was accustomed to say, "and *grim* as he often looked, I am indebted to him for the foundation of my literary knowledge. He insisted, with inexorable severity, on the learning of the rules of grammar. Whatever was the lesson, he made us read and repeat it, until its complete sense was fixed in the understanding and memory. At every recitation, we were obliged to stand; a good custom, as it increases respect for the master and secures attention from the scholar. He demanded reverence from the scholars, and obtained it in the highest degree; we always took off our hats as soon as we saw him or his house, though at a distance. Notwithstanding the severity of his demands, he freely expressed his satisfaction with the industrious, and allowed some of them, and me among the number, as a peculiar favor, to accompany him on his walk, in pursuit of speedwell and cowslips, for a tea, which formed his daily beverage. I have always since had a love for speedwell and cowslips; they remind me of those walks, and the honor and reward which I received from my never-to-be-forgotten master. Now and then, he invited one or another of the scholars, with whom he wished to express his particular satisfaction, into his study, to partake of a cup of this tea, sweetened with a small lump of sugar; this was a most honorable distinction. With me he was well pleased, paid me much attention, and treated me with great kindness." It would seem that Herder cherished almost too favorable a remembrance of his old master, if we

may judge from the descriptions that are given of him by some of his contemporaries. As they present a lively and rather curious picture of a German schoolmaster in the middle of the last century, it may gratify our readers to see them introduced.

The pastor of the village church, Trescho, whose connexion with Herder we shall soon relate, thus speaks of Grimm. "With his dark complexion, made still darker by a black peruke, his cadaverous face had nothing attractive for children. He was, at that time, between sixty and seventy years old, and something of an invalid; perhaps this prevented him from mingling in society, for he was not entirely wanting in the gift of speaking on important subjects. He possessed extensive knowledge, and was a pattern of diligence in discharging the duties of his office; he would even have devoted a part of the night, had it been permitted him, to the instruction of his scholars. He had learned, by long experience, to forward his young pupils in Latin and partially in Greek, in History and Geography, — but he was more conversant with these as matters of memory, than as calling for the exercise of the judgment and understanding. But his exactness, his love of order, his severity, and his habit of making repeated reviews, caused his scholars to appear well at examinations. For the ennobling of the heart and the improvement of the morals, he did nothing, except by giving the usual instruction on the duties of youth, and never pardoning the slightest immorality. Without the rod and lash, the good man could not help himself. Herein, as he believed, consisted school discipline. He was a man of unimpeached character; yet his excessive severity in school often exposed him to sport and ill-will. The shy and timid manners of young Herder were probably the effect of this school tyranny. His excellent natural disposition preserved him from the rudeness which such discipline produces in boys of a more impetuous spirit; but it gave him, instead, a secret gloom and reserve, almost amounting to mistrust."

A school-mate of Herder gives this description of their early instructor. "Herder's disposition was of a pensive and melancholy cast, and it could not be otherwise, under the restraint and severity which he endured at school. From seven o'clock in the morning until eight in the evening, we were employed with Grimm. Herder always treated the master with the utmost reverence, and was held up by him as an example for the imitation of the school. His uncommonly strong memory,

his power of reflection and of judgment, aided him in making great proficiency in Greek and Hebrew. He appeared to me often to surpass his teacher, while I am not aware that Grimm ever found any thing in him to be improved. In Latin, in which Grimm excelled the most, Herder had acquired uncommon facility. Grimm was extremely rigid and pedantic, and governed only through fear. The rod was rarely out of his hands; and Herder and myself were almost the only pupils who escaped."

Herder himself afterwards expressed his disapprobation of the pedantic mode of instruction pursued by his early master. In one of his writings, composed at sea, he laments that he was subjected to it, and regrets the loss of the far more generous culture, which his mind must have received, under a more practical and intelligent system.

The passion for learning, for which Herder was so much distinguished as a man, was manifested at an early age. He would often bring his book to the table at dinner and supper, though usually rebuked by his father for the practice. His sister relates, that he one day pointed out Italy on the map, and, with indescribable joy, exclaimed, "O, my beloved Italy! to see you myself must one day yet be mine." His love for the ancients had already begun to haunt him. From his childhood he was passionately fond of music. He learned to play upon the harpsichord at school, in company with many of the scholars, who had among them but one small, miserable instrument, which they were obliged to remove from one room to another. With these disadvantages, he acquired a well-grounded knowledge of the principles of music, and a competent skill in its practice.

The enjoyment of nature in the open air, with a book for his companion, was his favorite recreation, and to remembrances of this kind he used to recur with pleasure in after life. He often spoke of his father's garden, and the large cherry tree, on which, in the season of blossoms, with a book in his hand, he had felt so much delight, in listening to the song of the birds. It was here that his soul, full of pure sympathy with nature, and alive to all that is grand and beautiful in the productions of human genius, received those deep impressions of nature and religion, of humanity and spiritual greatness, which were inseparably united in his character. The sublime and inspiring thoughts of the Greeks and Romans, at the same time awaken-

ed in him the noble love of glory, the desire to emulate their virtues, and to become, for his contemporaries and posterity, what they were for theirs.

His favorite walk was on the borders of a picturesque lake called the "Sea of Mohrungen," which almost surrounds the village, and in a neighbouring wood, which had received the poetical appellation of the "Grove of Paradise." In a little poem entitled "Dreams of my Youth," he has left a sweet and pensive memorial of these scenes of early enjoyment. The feeling with which he read the ancients at that time is expressed in an extract from a letter to his wife, before their marriage, (1771,) in which he says:—"I have enjoyed this beautiful autumn; but it is so melancholy to see every thing yellow and faded and wintry; a race of leaves, which, like the generations of men, when they depart from earth will appear no more. No image, no song, or comparison of youth, has ever impressed me so much as this. I remember when, for the first time, a mere boy, I read the comparison in Homer of the generations of men vanishing away, like the leaves of the spring, I could not refrain from tears."

His desire of knowledge was insatiable. It was not unusual for him, if he saw a book lying on a window as he passed a house, to enter in, and ask to borrow it. He often complained of the want of books, and other means of intellectual cultivation, which he suffered in his youth. We have little doubt, however, that this apparent disadvantage exerted a favorable influence on his mind, and contributed to its originality and strength. The easy access to a variety of books, tends to diminish the appetite with which they are perused, and to overlay the native vigor of the mind with foreign ideas. The experiment of reading through a whole library, which was so beneficial in the case of Sir Walter Scott, would probably ruin a youthful mind of less elasticity and force than his.

Herder received his early religious instruction from Willamov, a preacher held in the highest esteem at Mohrungen, by whom he was confirmed. He cherished a warm attachment for this clergyman, and, next to his parents, received from him the deepest impressions of religion, friendship, and humanity. The family of Willamov were united with that of Herder in intimate friendship. They had the common bond of sympathy in their tastes, and of poverty. Among the papers of Herder was found an Essay, written at Königsberg, in 1765, entitled "The

Preacher of God." In this ideal of a preacher and pastor, he evidently borrowed the principal lineaments from Willamov, whose character had made a deep impression on his mind. A few extracts from this Essay are subjoined in a free translation, to show the sentiments which Herder entertained, at that early age, (hardly twenty-one,) of a profession, in which he afterwards attained such eminent distinction.

"Where is the great and peculiar man whom I seek? I go through the ranks of the sublime poets, to whom men erect altars, of the mighty orators, who have the power of peace and war, of life and death, upon their tongues; I bow in amazement, and pass on. I review the gifted players, from Roscius to Garrick, who touch every key of human passion; I admire, and pass on. I turn to the philosophers, who ravish my soul with their creative spirit in a new world; I admire, but must go further. Where is he for whom I search? My heart throbs, I raise my head, I move rapidly around. I stop and listen, I hasten forward when I hear a sound, I forget every thing else and watch for it, — alas! I sought him among poets and orators and philosophers, and found him not. — The Preacher of God! Where is he? that I may embrace him, that I may press him to my heart, that I may bring him to the house of my mother, and never let him go from my side. Praise to God! I have not sought him in vain. I have found him, — even among us. More than one, — few indeed, — have I found. But let them be the dearer to me. Preacher of God! great without noise, solemn without the stateliness of poetry, eloquent without Ciceronian periods, powerful without dramatic art, and wise without learned subtilties.

"I see him before me. He stands in the midst of his friends and children. Every eye is turned upon him, every soul hangs upon his face. It is the man speaking with his brother, the man who has baptized him, who has prepared him for the table of remembrance, who has proffered consolation to his parents, to his kindred, to his children, to himself, in the days of sickness, — of some of whom he has stood around the dying bed, — in short, who has been near to him, as an important person, on all of the most important occasions of life. The discourses of such a man have weight.

"He stands in the midst of his friends and children. They press around their father; around the man who is anxious for the welfare of their souls; who knows them in their houses and in their hearts, who consoles them in the troubles of this life, and seeks their happiness for eternity; whom they know as a pious, upright, and judicious man, — who speaks every word from the heart, — he is a Preacher of God.

"He spoke. What shall I call his speaking? Sermon? No. — It was no sermon tone, no sermon style, no sermon introduction,

no sermon theme, no sermon form. Was it an oration? Far from it. There was none of the formality of the orator, no rhetorical thunder and lightning, no affected earnestness and pathos, no pompous solemnity of demeanor. — It was, then, an entertaining, spiritual discourse. Nothing of it. No insinuating arts, no delicate management, no skilful turns and developements, no startling bursts, — nothing of these. — A theological treatise, then. Not at all. No dogmatic articles, no scholastic explanations and divisions, no skeletons of a formal method, no demonstrations and inferences, no theorems, scholiums, or scientific quotations. — But it was then a pulpit-homily. No such thing. No strait-laced dignity, as in the tone of that very reverend divine, no tedious hermeneutical erudition, no pedantic harmonizing of texts, no five-fold applications by way of improvement, no thunderings against heretics, nor abuse towards free-thinkers. Nothing at all of this. Listen to me and judge for yourself.

"I see his image now. The image of a man, whom if nature does not deceive in his exterior, I should choose for my friend, to whom I could freely give my whole heart. His manner of imploring a blessing, with which he commenced, was deeply touching. I heard no declamatory appeals to God, full of Ohs and Ahs, as if the man had just come from heaven and would return thither by storm; but a few words fell upon my ear, which penetrated my soul, and I felt that I was engaged in a great and solemn act. He began with presenting an instance taken from the experience of life, which he accompanied with one or two observations. The fact was not unknown to me, but I had never before regarded it in that light. I inwardly thanked him for the discovery. So did all his hearers; for the circumstance he alluded to was before our eyes, — yet we had never seen it. We felt that we must listen to such a man, for he saw more than we. But he did not chide us for our blindness. He proceeded, like the teacher who gives his pupil the joy of making a discovery for himself. He merely led us into our own little world, into our sphere of action, and into our hearts. He showed us truth, as if he showed it not; so that we felt, 'With this man will we go, for with him are we happy.'"

In the year 1760, an event took place, which exerted no small influence on the developement of Herder's character, the settlement of Sebastian Friedrich Trescho, as pastor at Mohrungen. He had known Herder when a child, and found him now, at the age of sixteen years, one of the first scholars in the Latin school. His attention was soon directed to him by the propriety of his answers, at the usual catechetical exercises, and the correctness and taste with which he gave an account

of the sermons he had heard, according to the custom at that examination. Trescho being an invalid, and living alone in an empty house, took him home as an amanuensis, but without interfering with his usual studies at school. "If he was not wanted by his parents," says Trescho, "he sat with me at my study-table in the evening, learned his lesson, went to his parents' home for his evening meal, and returned quietly to his chamber, which was contiguous to my parlour." The use of Trescho's library, and the practice of copying his writings, were of some advantage to Herder. Trescho confessed that he permitted him the use of his books, in order to observe the bent of his inclinations; but he met with an obstacle to this, in the timidity and reserve which Herder had acquired under the severe discipline of Grimm. "He never spoke," says Trescho, "in a confident manner, but answered with an almost trembling diffidence, when I gave him any directions; his voice was only half-raised, and he remained closely locked up in himself. He never spoke of himself, and it was impossible to draw any thing out of him, from which I could infer that he was any thing more than a very ordinary boy." For this reason, and on account of the poverty of his parents, Trescho endeavoured to dissuade their son from his passionate attachment to study, and to induce him to learn a trade. But for this Herder had neither the inclination nor the fitness, and in later years, he often alluded with displeasure to the unfriendly treatment of Trescho, and the obstacles which he placed in the way of his inclination to study. According to every account, this was the most unhappy and depressing period of Herder's youth. His ardent desire for knowledge could not, however, be repressed by any difficulties, and he devoted many hours of the night to its gratification. "One evening," says Trescho, "after Herder had retired with his light, I felt a secret uneasiness, lest he might forget to put it out. I crept silently to his chamber, and found him, to my amazement, undressed, on the outside of the bed, fast asleep. A multitude of books were scattered around on the floor, part of them open, Greek and Latin classics, many German poets, and, in the midst of them all, stood the light, still burning. I was astonished and pleased, and at the same time somewhat troubled, to find that my young friend was inspired with such a spirit. The trifling rebuke which I gave him in the morning, for his carelessness, was soon over; and, when I asked him if he was able to use

these books to advantage, he replied, in monosyllables, 'that he tried to understand them.' I now discovered that, instead of a mere pupil of the Latin school, I saw before me a man, who must be placed in a very different school for the developement of his extraordinary mind, if we would avoid the guilt of a kind of soul-murder, and not stifle the first breathings of a life destined to great purposes. From this time, I so employed him, at least in his leisure hours, that he could pursue the knowledge, which he had hitherto enjoyed no opportunity of acquiring."

"A short time after this," says Trescho, "I had occasion to learn still more of the rare abilities of my young friend. I was about despatching a fugitive production for publication to my bookseller, Kanter, in Königsberg. Herder undertook to copy it, and send it away. A few days after, Kanter wrote to me that he had found in my packet a poem full of spirit and feeling, addressed to 'Cyrus, the grandson of Astyages,' which he immediately printed to the great acceptance of his customers; and begged me to give him the name of the author. — This could be no other than Herder himself. Upon being questioned with regard to it, he blushed and smiled, but did not disclaim it."

An occurrence is related by Trescho, as having taken place a short time before, which, although it is uncertain what part in it can be ascribed to Herder, may serve to throw some light on the relation he sustained to Trescho. One Sunday evening, as Trescho entered the confessional, he found a sealed letter, in a handwriting with which he was not acquainted. It was filled with sorrowful confessions of the sins and native corruption of the writer, and a declaration that Trescho's sermon of the last Sunday had so much affected him that he was unable to sleep. The sermon alluded to, was from Luke vii. 36–42; in which Trescho had spoken of the easy way of obtaining rest to the soul, and reformation of life, through the Gospel. With the wish to be guided in this way, the letter expressed the firmest belief in the truths of religion, lamentations for unsuccessful efforts to enter this way, and many good resolutions for the future. A request was added to leave a sealed answer on the confessional. Some time after, Trescho began to suspect, from a similarity to the handwriting of Herder, when he wrote carelessly, that he was the author of the letter; and waited to see whether he would make any further commu-

nication, in consequence of the answer. Nothing, however, took place. Trescho declares that he noticed no change in him, but that he remained the same quiet, reserved, thoughtful, and well-behaved youth as before. Herder himself never alluded to this circumstance, in speaking of his early history, nor was Trescho's answer found among his papers. It is easy to suppose, however, that he might have been the author, but was repelled from further communication by the character of the answer. The sacred office, which he had seen adorned by such a man as Willamov, was the object of his highest veneration. With this feeling he was strongly excited by a sermon of Trescho's, which breathed a strain of mystical piety, and kindled his young and ardent soul with a warm desire to reach the Eternal Source of Rest and Wisdom. He hoped that he should find in Trescho the wisest counsellor for his religious nature. But, with his heart touched with the profound simplicity of the sacred writers, and his taste formed by the careful study of the ancient classics, he could not sympathize with the strain of Trescho's answer. Hence he remained silent; and the more experience he had of Trescho's deportment and feelings, the more was he disposed to cherish as little intercourse as possible with a man, who would endeavour to hold his mind in shackles, and who was ill adapted, either to appreciate, or to promote, the developement of his powers.

At the age of eighteen, Herder was called to encounter a new obstacle in the course of his education. He was enrolled on the military list of his district, and exposed to the daily apprehension of being forced away as a recruit. Fortunately, his small stature, and a lachrymal fistula in the eye, with which he had been afflicted from childhood, did not add to his qualifications for a soldier, and, perhaps, were the means of exempting him from actual service during his residence at Mohrungen. The fear of being obliged to abandon his studies was a constant source of depression. To this cause we may partly ascribe the timidity and reserve of his youth. His early impressions of the slavery and violence of a military life produced so powerful an effect on his mind, that he could never entirely suppress his aversion to the military character which then distinguished his native country. He often lamented the effect of these early impressions, his horror of a military life, and the imperfections of his school education, in giving his disposition an excessive humility and self-distrust, which impaired his

power of prompt and rapid decision, and prevented him from making the best use of favorable opportunities.

A fortunate turn in his affairs, at last put an end to this uncomfortable situation. A Russian regiment, on their return from the Seven Years' War, took up their winter-quarters at Mohrungen, in the beginning of the year 1762. The surgeon of the regiment, a man of literary taste and strict morality, became a frequent visiter at the house of Trescho. His attention was soon directed to young Herder, and, after learning more of his character and attainments, he made him the proposal, that he should accompany him to Königsberg, and become a student of medicine. He agreed to give him his instruction, and undertake the cure of his diseased eye; and, in return, Herder was to translate for him, into Latin, a medical treatise of his own composition. This proposal was hailed by Herder and his parents as a light from heaven in the midst of darkness. All their friends and acquaintances in Mohrungen shared in their joy at this event, and contributing something towards fitting out the youth for his journey, wished him prosperity on his way. One of his earliest poems, entitled "To my Genius, on my birth-day, August 25," was suggested by this event. In the summer of 1762, he departed with his friend from Mohrungen, and saw his parents, as it proved, for the last time. The transition from an obscure country village, to the activity and splendor of a large city, made a deep impression on his youthful feelings. Königsberg appeared to him almost like a world in itself. The streets, the churches, the college, the houses of his friends and acquaintances, the public edifices, the harbour, the gardens and parks, were imprinted on his memory in after life with as much freshness as if he had seen them but yesterday.

Before his departure from Mohrungen, he had begun to apply himself to the study of botany, under the direction of his new teacher, the Russian surgeon; and the time had now come for him to commence in earnest the study of his profession. Soon after his arrival in Königsberg, he was taken to a dissection. The sight of this was too much for his tender and nervous temperament, and he fainted in horror. This decided his future destiny. His feelings were so much agitated at this time, that he could never afterwards speak of a surgical operation without trembling.

As he was walking in the street, sadly pondering on his

future course, he met an old school-mate, Emmerich, whom he had not seen for some time, and to whom he made known his aversion to his profession, and his resolution to change it for that of theology. Emmerich advised him to adhere to his purpose, and at once to enter his name as a theological student in the college. To this step, Herder objected, on account both of his deficiency in learning and of his want of funds, his whole stock of money being a little more than three Prussian dollars. His friend satisfied him on these points, and they immediately went to the vice-rector, to whom Emmerich communicated the wish of Herder to be examined for admission to the college. This was agreed to, and the examination took place on the spot. Herder sustained it with great credit to himself, and, in a few days, was regularly admitted as a student in theology.

He now informed his friend, the surgeon, of the change in his plans, who received the intelligence with warm displeasure. He endeavoured to dissuade Herder from going on with his project, by representing to him the prospects as a physician in St. Petersburg, which he must sacrifice, and the poor and destitute condition of a clergyman in Prussia. But Herder was not to be shaken in his resolution. The translation of the medical treatise into Latin, with which the surgeon expected to make his fortune, was faithfully completed before their separation, and became of great advantage to him in establishing his reputation as a medical man in St. Petersburg. Herder also announced the step which he had taken to his parents, and to his pastor Trescho, adding, that he should look for no further pecuniary assistance from his friends, but should endeavour to support himself by his own industry. He was now obliged to use the most rigid economy, and, as he would sometimes relate, a few biscuits, for many a day, formed the whole of his sustenance. He now enjoyed uncommon advantages for literary improvement. Besides the private instruction which he received, he attended the academical lectures of several eminent professors, among whom was the celebrated Kant, who lectured at that time on Logic, Metaphysics, Ethics, Mathematics, and Physical Geography. He soon made the acquaintance of the bookseller, Kanter, who had previously taken an interest in him, on account of his poem, already alluded to, entitled "To Cyrus, the grandson of Astyages." From his acquaintance with this person, Herder derived much advantage. He gave him free access to his books, introduced him to many valuable

acquaintances, and induced him to write short essays and poems in the Königsberg Journal, of which he was at that time the publisher. Herder was often heard to speak of the great enjoyment he took in the shop of Kanter, where, forgetting entirely the world around him, he would spend hours, and even days, in devouring the interesting volumes it contained. His grateful sense of the favors he received from Kanter was testified, among other ways, by a funeral oration, which he delivered over the grave of his sister, who died at an early age in the spring of 1764. This youthful production, which was the first effort of his talents as a public speaker, was printed, and excited a general feeling of admiration.

His appointment as instructer in Frederic's-College, which took place at Easter, 1763, gave him an opportunity of exercising his talents in a favorable sphere. He was entrusted with the charge of the two lower classes in Latin, the first class in history, the class in philosophy, and the third classes in mathematics and French. In this office, his thorough mode of instruction, his strict fidelity, and his modest deportment, as well as his public addresses and occasional poems, made him many friends. As a teacher, he insisted on industry and attention in his classes, while he devoted himself to the faithful discharge of his own duties. He was too rigid and exact to be the object of general popularity, although he always enjoyed the esteem and gratitude of the better portion of the students.

With the inspector of the College, a well meaning but rather pedantic person, he could never quite agree. Among other things he insisted that Herder should wear a peruke, as essential to the dignity of a teacher, a demand with which he was not disposed to comply. Still less could he fall in with the strain of forced and extravagant piety, which then prevailed in the College. This was directly opposed to his correct feelings and strong natural religious sentiments.

During a residence of nearly two years at Königsberg, Herder was the object of general esteem and love. Many of the most cultivated families of the city sought his society, and his intercourse with them was favorable to the developement of his feelings as well as the refinement of his mind. "In the year 1764," says Trescho, "I visited Königsberg, and Herder hastened joyfully to meet me. But what a change from the youth who had left me a year or two before. There was scarcely a trace of his former timidity and reserve. Of his

industry and excellent character I had received the most favorable accounts. Intercourse with refined people had exerted a favorable effect on him. He was fitted for the world. But this youthful genius was surrounded by too many admirers and flatterers. Thanks to his own firmness and strength of principle, that he was not corrupted by them."

The character of Herder, as a young man devoted to letters, is presented in so beautiful a light, during his connexion with Frederic's-College, that we cannot pass it over, without going into rather a minute, but we hope not tedious, detail. His disposition was eminently social. The intellectual and refined society, which he enjoyed in Königsberg, did not, however, prevent him from feeling the need of friendship with young men of his own age. He could not be happy without some congenial minds, to whom he could freely impart the thoughts and sentiments, that kindled his own. His chosen companions, among his fellow-students, were young men of distinguished talents and noble feelings. He always loved to call to mind the agreeable intimacies, which he formed at this romantic period of his life. Their bond of union, was the common love of learning, and sympathy of temper and disposition. Among the friends, with whom he was intimate, were several, who afterwards became men of eminence, and filled important stations in society. Some of them have given their early impressions of Herder's character, all of which testify to the purity and elevation of his mind, the charms of his disposition, and his enthusiastic love of learning. One of them, a Prussian counsellor of state, writes as follows. "Herder was one of my most intimate friends. While he was instructer at Frederic's-College, we were together every day. This intercourse became essential to our happiness. A man of the native talents of my friend, cherished and refined by familiarity with the ancient classics and the best German authors; of the clearest head, of a happy temperament and a feeling heart, of a glowing imagination, which never warmed into extravagance, of the most generous disposition, and with a deep thirst for sympathy, must have presented uncommon attractions for a young man, who, with a similar temperament and tastes, was devoted to him with his whole heart and soul. The usual subjects of our conversation were elegant literature and the latest critical reviews. I eagerly availed myself of his superior attainments, for, at that time,

he was already a living library. I found Herder always consistent, always cheerful and sociable, and always strictly moral. If my own more lively disposition sometimes became petulant, he was always able, by some happy and gentle turn, to restore it within its proper limits. The spirit of religion and of humanity pervaded all his feelings."

Another of his college friends, says in a letter, "At Königsberg, I attended with Herder the lectures of Lilienthal on Dogmatics, and of Kant on Metaphysics, Morals, Logic, and Physical Geography. We sat at the same table; he was then timid and silent; his gait was rapid and stooping, one of his eyes usually suffering from disease; and his external appearance indicated poverty; — but his mind was so rich and fruitful, and his remarks, whenever he spoke of the lectures of the professors, so profound and convincing, that he extorted, as it were, the esteem and love of all his companions. Herder occasionally gave poetical contributions to the Königsberg Gazette, which often had a tinge of enthusiasm and exaggeration. I remember, that Kant said of him, after reading one of his hymns for Good-Friday, 'If this foaming genius ever stops fermenting, his great talents will make a useful man of him.'"

Kant appears to have early taken a deep interest in his young pupil, although it is hardly possible to find two persons more dissimilar in their character and tastes. He allowed him the privilege of a free attendance on all his lectures. Herder listened, with intense eagerness, to every idea, every word of the great philosopher, and arranged his thoughts and expressions in order at home. He often showed his copy of the lecture to one of his intimate friends, and discussed with him the theories and arguments, which it contained. It was on a certain delightful morning, — a time when Kant was accustomed to speak with peculiar animation, and, if the subject permitted, with true poetical inspiration, and to quote from his favorite poets, Pope and Haller, — that this magnificent intellect poured forth its bold speculations on Eternity and Time. Herder was evidently deeply impressed. Upon going home, he clothed the ideas of his instructer in verses which would have done honor to Haller. Kant, to whom he showed them the next morning, before the lecture commenced, was so struck with the masterly exhibition of his ideas, that he read them, with the warmest encomiums, before his auditory.

Herder himself often related, that he sometimes conversed with Kant on the subject of his lectures, and gained his confidence to such a degree, that Kant would frequently send him his labors in manuscript, and request his opinion with regard to them. For his own part, he preferred to hear him on Astronomy, Physical Geography, and the grand laws of Nature; on these subjects his lectures were admirable. For his Metaphysics, on the other hand, which he believed he understood more correctly than the later disciples of Kant, as they were set forth, at this time, in a clearer and less artificial form, he had little taste. After hearing one of his metaphysical lectures, he would often go into the open air, with a volume of Rousseau or a favorite poet, in order to free himself from the unpleasant impressions which it had made upon his mind.

For the personal character of Kant he always cherished the highest esteem, but he never concealed from him his own way of thinking and feeling. He was willing to listen with respect and gratitude to his instructions, but he would not become his blind disciple and humble imitator. Kant's happy faculty of speaking with great beauty as well as acuteness, never entirely satisfied Herder; it did not touch his heart, and a genuine sympathy between their minds was never enkindled.

A more congenial friend, with whom he was long united in the most entire and lively sympathy, was John George Hamann, a man of remarkable endowments, an original thinker, possessing a thorough knowledge of the world, and more than ordinary talents as a writer. He was not justly appreciated by his contemporaries, but was afterwards brought into more general notice by the praises of Goethe, Jean Paul Richter, and Jacobi. In this friend, Herder found the most cherished wishes of his heart fully realized. They read together new and valuable works, and, by mutually imparting their ideas and sentiments to each other, they discovered that harmony of feeling and similarity of taste, which formed a solid foundation for their lasting friendship. Hamann had acquired the knowledge of the English language, during a long residence in London, and this was peculiarly welcome to Herder. He immediately commenced this study with him, and it always continued to be a favorite one. Shakspeare's Hamlet was the first work in English which he read, and for many years he could repeat the most beautiful passages from memory.

In the company of this friend, Herder passed a large por-

tion of his leisure hours. His deep religious feeling, his glowing and affectionate heart, his quick perception of the beautiful and the good, and his rigid moral principles, presented an irresistible charm for Herder, so that he always looked upon him as a holy and consecrated being. Their correspondence, after leaving Königsberg, is an invaluable record of their feelings and experience. The arrival of a letter from Hamann was always a feast to Herder. He could not remain in the house. His whole soul was agitated, and he was obliged to give free vent to his emotions in the open air. After he left Königsberg, he saw this friend no more. As he was about paying Herder a visit at Weimar, he died at Münster, in 1788. This event exerted a most depressing influence on Herder's mind, and he was compelled to seek alleviation for his grief in a journey to Italy.

During his residence at Königsberg, Herder had the misfortune to lose his father, who left a small estate to his family. His own share of the patrimony he relinquished to his mother, the only aid he could then afford her. It was afterwards in his power to render her more substantial assistance.

In the autumn of 1764, Herder received the appointment of assistant teacher in the High School at Riga, an important and responsible office, which he obtained through the influence of Hamann, and other literary friends. A short time before leaving Königsberg, his feelings were deeply impressed by the spectacle of a raging conflagration, which continued for five or six days, and threatened to lay the whole city in ruins. His emotions on this occasion were expressed in a poem, entitled "The Ashes of Königsberg," which shows the strong and exciting effect, that this terrific scene had produced on his mind. Previous to his departure, he was cited before the Prussian military tribunal, and required to take an oath, that he would return, if he was demanded, as a soldier. He consented to this with the greatest reluctance, and was never able to conceal the indignation, which was excited by this specimen of military slavery. Such being his impressions, he took leave of his native country with a bitter farewell.

In November, 1764, he arrived at Riga, and, on the 7th of December, was established in his office in the High School. In the month of February following he was examined, as a student in theology, and soon after commenced his public services, as afternoon preacher, at a church in the suburbs of the

city. Although but twenty years old, he perceived the defects in the prevailing theological systems of his time, and endeavoured to obtain higher points of view, which should redeem theology from the influence of the schools, and restore it to the interests and feelings of human nature. He early struck out a new path, which prepared the way for the introduction of a more humane and liberal theology, but, at the same time, exposed him to misunderstanding and reproach. The clergy were ill-disposed towards him, and endeavoured to place every obstacle in his way. His native abilities and superior attainments, however, placed him above their power, and ensured him ultimate success. As instructer and preacher he soon won all hearts. His true and deep sense of religion gave animation and power to his discourses. They moved and satisfied his hearers, and tended to excite them to the cultivation of every virtue, to the love of God and man, and to a consciousness of immortality. These themes, set forth with a warm, natural eloquence, adorned with the graces of a youthful imagination, and clothed in select and expressive language, made an irresistible impression on the heart. His ideas were always derived from the Scriptures, and he closely followed his text, which he developed in an analytic form. All technical and dogmatic expressions, which suggest only the shibboleth of a sect, and are so fatal to true feeling, he carefully avoided. One of his hearers, who survived him many years, thus speaks of his early recollections of Herder's ministry. "I well remember the enthusiastic delight, with which his sermons were received. Those of us, who knew him at that time, have often spoken, with the liveliest emotions, of all that we enjoyed in him as a preacher. We could imagine that we still heard his voice, as he addressed us, at the close of a sermon on Immortality; 'We live not for this world alone. The moment is coming, when all that we now possess will be taken from us, when the joys and pleasures of life will be left behind, when all the glory and greatness of the world will be veiled in tears, when the laurel-crown of success will fade upon our brow; the time is at hand, when death will snatch us from the embrace of our friends, from the arms of our children, from the hearts of the beloved, from the circle of all our earthly hopes. O let our lives be such, that we shall not be compelled to go away with sad hearts and tearful eyes, with the stings of conscience

and the sighs of remorse, with bloody hands and spotted souls. Let us here provide for our souls, let us plant them with virtues, which will abide with us for ever, and be perfected in a higher world. Goodness and justice, the fear of God and the love of man, will remain with us in death and follow us into eternity.' — These were the words of my friend in the bloom of his youth; thus he led the way before us, lived as he taught, and prepared that, which remained with him in death and followed him into eternity."

The character of Herder as a preacher, and the views of the gospel ministry, which he entertained during his residence at Riga, may be best learned from his own words, in the farewell sermon, which he preached on leaving that city in 1769. The whole of that sermon is remarkable, for the frankness and independence, with which he expresses his feelings and purposes in the ministry, and, though somewhat in anticipation of our narrative, we will here introduce a few passages from it, which show the distinct and elevated conceptions he had formed at this early age of the peculiar duties of his calling.

After describing the importance of the sacred office, Herder proceeds, "Permit me to give an account of the manner in which I have attempted to attain its object. The word preached is to save souls. What then can be a more important duty for the preacher than to become acquainted with human souls, to know them both on their good and their bad sides, in their heights and depths, in their secret windings and their open manifestations? It is therefore the great study of the preacher, in which, for his life long, he cannot go too far, on which his whole work depends, to make human souls happy. Nothing in the world really touches us, but that which is actually human, which proceeds from the feelings of our hearts, and is, in a manner, related to the inward structure of our being.

"The most frequent and favorite subjects of my sermons have accordingly been human. Our destiny in this world and the world to come; the dignity of our nature, as created in the Image of God; the degradation and misery produced by the indulgence of guilty passions; the connexion between our happiness and our fidelity to the endowments of our nature; the supremacy of reason and conscience; and, above all, the immortality of the soul; these are the subjects, which I have preferred to set forth, and to impress upon the heart of man,

with all their momentous consequences. Humanity, in its full extent, with all its noble dispositions towards God, towards itself, and towards others, with all its sympathizing and brotherly emotions, with all its delightful duties, with all its sublime gifts and capacities for happiness; humanity, in this broad compass, has always been the grand theme of my discourses, my instructions, my exhortations. All my preaching has been directed to this point; it was human. If I have never lost myself in dark and subtile questions, in fathomless mysteries, and in consecrated refinements; if I have always chosen the side which was nearest to the human soul, and which was fitted to make the strongest and deepest impression on the heart; if I have always endeavoured to use a human language, — my motive and purpose in so doing was to become a worthy teacher of mankind.

I am aware that this point of view has not been taken by all my hearers. I know that many have had the kindness to regard me as a philosopher in black clothes, who does not preach as a theologian, and whose doctrines belong to the chair of the professor, and to the closets of the learned, rather than to the instructions of the pulpit. But these hearers have judged too favorably of me. What I have preached here has been any thing but learning; it has only been important human instructions and concerns. I have never presented them in a learned manner, but always as a man, with the entire language of my heart and sympathy. I have ever spoken from an overflowing breast, kindled with zeal for the interests of humanity. Hence I have spoken so much in detail of human duties, of the duties of different callings, ages, and stations in life. Hence I have spoken so often, and with such deep interest, on the education of the young and on the domestic duties. Hence I have identified myself, as it were, with persons of various characters and temperaments; since every man acts after his own peculiar disposition and turn of mind, and must see himself portrayed in strong and lively colors, and be addressed with motives drawn from his own heart and feelings; else the preacher will speak to deaf ears. Hence, in fine, it has been my favorite object, to guide men to the true enjoyment of life, in all the innocence of their hearts, and in all the purity of their conscience, but, at the same time, with the exercise of all their native endowments and capacities, according to the purpose of God in the creation of man. If, then, I have preached philosophy, it has ever been a philoso-

phy of human nature ; I spoke the word to make human souls happy."

With such clear and rational conceptions of the objects of preaching, and such a warm and glowing sympathy with his fellow men, we cannot be surprised that the public services of Herder were listened to with enthusiasm, and that his personal character was the object of general admiration and love. He soon became connected with the interests of his adopted city, and found in it a new father-land. His talents received a fresh impulse from the intercourse of society, of which, in return, he was a brilliant ornament. His pure moral feelings, his noble disposition, his quick sensibility to the good and the true, his fine taste and love of the beautiful, his ready sympathy with the sufferings of others, his intellectual and witty strain of conversation, united with a cheerful earnestness, gained for him the highest affection and esteem from all the circles of society which he frequented. The charms of social intercourse did not prevent him from pursuing his literary labors with great activity. He formed the plan of several important works, and published others, some of which involved him in unpleasant disputes with the reviewers, by which he appears to have been so much annoyed, as to hasten the termination of his residence at Riga. Although this period may be regarded as the golden age of his life, he felt that he was not in all respects in the sphere of action best suited to his character and tastes. The use of a large library, and intercourse with eminent literary men, were indispensable wants, which he could not satisfy in his present situation. After cherishing the resolution in secret for some time, he at last announced his intention of engaging in a course of foreign travel. It was his chief purpose to become acquainted with the principal literary institutions in France, Holland, and Germany, and, if possible, to visit Italy, in order to establish, upon his contemplated return to Riga, a Livonian National Institute of Education. On the 5th of May, 1769, he received leave of absence from the Council of Riga, and on the 25th of May, in company with a friend, he set out for Nantes.

The opportunity for retirement and reflection afforded by the voyage, was devoted by Herder to an examination of his past life, and to the formation of plans for the literary culture and moral improvement of his fellow men. These objects, always near his heart, seemed now to haunt him with fresh

interest, and, united with the new and fearful impressions of external nature, kept his mind in a constant state of excitement, bordering upon enthusiasm. A journal which he kept at this time is still preserved, and forms a curious record of his feelings and character. The ardent hopes which warmed his imagination are expressed without reserve, but not without a perception of the obstacles which lay in the way of their fulfilment. The great interests of humanity, the highest cultivation of man, the advancement of society in all that decorates, ennobles, and spiritualizes life, were the objects which he kept steadily in view, and in pursuit of which he appears to have sacrificed all selfish purposes and considerations. He intended to return to Riga, after he had gained the advantages which he anticipated from travelling in foreign countries, and then to devote all his resources to the improvement of his adopted land. "O Livonia," he writes in his journal, "thou province of barbarism and luxury, of ignorance and pretension, of freedom and slavery, how much is to be done for your benefit! What must I do, to become your Zuingle, or Luther, or Calvin? Let me renounce unprofitable criticism and lifeless speculations, and let me devote myself to the benefit and the cultivation of the living world. With this view, I will travel through France, England, Italy, and Germany, and collect the fruits of the French literature and taste, the English spirit of reality and freedom, the Italian love of the fine arts, and the German profound investigation and extensive learning. But, alas! how much of the fire of my youth has been expended in critical and unprofitable subtilties. Livonia is a province in possession of foreigners. Many foreigners have made use of it, in pursuing commerce for the acquisition of wealth. But to me, a foreigner also, is it given for a higher purpose; to forming it in true culture, let my sacred office be devoted,—to making it the colony of an improved Protestant faith, not by writing, not by paper wars, but by giving it the principle of life, by genuine cultivation. For this purpose I have space, time, and opportunity. I have all good and noble-minded men on my side, in opposition to one or two pedants."

He arrived at Nantes on the 16th of July, where it was his plan to reside a few months, in order to perfect himself in the use of the French language, and then to take up his abode at Paris, which at that time, as at the present, was the centre of all that

is refined and intellectual in European cultivation. After having made the acquaintance of several agreeable friends at Nantes, and gained a deeper insight into the French character and manners, on their most favorable side, he proceeded to Paris in the month of November.

He was now surrounded with the attractions of this great metropolis, which, for a mind like his, must have possessed no ordinary interest. His time appears to have been spent in intercourse with literary men, in visiting the principal objects of curiosity, and in study and retirement. He was far from being dazzled with the splendor of the capital, but under all its magnificence and show, he discovered a frivolity and heartlessness which wearied and disgusted him. Among the distinguished scholars of that time, he made the acquaintance of Didérot, D'Alembert, Thomas, Barthélemy, and others of less celebrity. The French Theatre interested him, as the representation of the character and taste of the nation, and its literary culture. He admired the talents of Clairon and Le Cain, yet, with few exceptions, he regarded the whole merely as a specimen of conventional art.

Soon after his arrival in Paris, Herder received an invitation from the Duke of Holstein-Oldenburg at Eutin, to accept the office of chaplain, and travelling tutor to his son, the Prince William Frederic. This offer presented many advantages for the attainment of his personal objects, in pursuing a course of foreign travel, but at the same time interfered with the plans of education which he had in view for Riga. After many conflicting feelings, he at last resolved to accept the appointment, and left Paris, in December, 1769, for Eutin, visiting Brussels, Antwerp, Amsterdam, and Hamburg, on the way. At Hamburg he became acquainted, for the first time, with the celebrated Lessing, with whom he passed several days in the most agreeable intimacy, and established a friendship which ended only with life.

After remaining a short time at Eutin, with the family of the Duke, from whom he met with the most friendly reception, Herder commenced his travels with the young Prince in July, 1770, accompanied by his court-governor, the Baron von Capelmann. Their route lay through Hamburg, Göttingen, Darmstadt, and Carlsruhe, to Strasburg, where they proposed to pass the winter. At Darmstadt, the native city of the Duchess of Holstein, they made a short visit, which, in its

consequences, proved an event of the greatest importance for Herder's future life and happiness. In a family to which he was introduced by the governess of the young Princesses of Darmstadt, he formed an acquaintance with a lady named Flachsland, who was then on a visit in the house of a married sister. A strong mutual attachment soon took place; and from this time Herder found himself surrounded by new influences, and impelled by new motives, to persevere in the course of honorable and brilliant exertion which he had early commenced.

While at Darmstadt, Herder received a second invitation from the Count William of Schaumburg-Lippe, to accept the office of superintendent of the clergy and consistorial counsellor at Bückeburg. The first invitation had been given a few months previous, but did not reach him till just as he was leaving Eutin, and had not yet been answered. The character of Capelmann was not agreeable to Herder, and interfered with his plans of education for the Prince so much, that he felt unwilling to retain his office, and he accordingly decided to accept the proposal of the Count William.

At Strasburg, he submitted to one or two operations for the cure of his diseased eye, but without success. This detained him, for several months, in that city, much to his personal inconvenience and regret, but the time was not wholly lost. He devoted the hours in which he was able to read, to the study of Shakspeare and Ossian, the Grecian poets and Klopstock, and engaged in the composition of an essay "On the Origin of Language," for which he afterwards obtained a prize from the Berlin Academy. He also enjoyed the society of several distinguished literary men, among whom were Goethe and Jung-Stilling. From these last he received almost daily visits, and commenced an intimacy with them which ripened into esteem and permanent friendship.

In May, 1771, Herder commenced the duties of his new situation at Bückeburg, with high expectations of enjoying a sphere of useful and happy exertion. He soon found, however, that, on many essential points, the views of the Count were so different from his own, as to embarrass his plans of activity, and to render his condition uncomfortable. The Count was twenty years older than Herder, accustomed to the exactness of military discipline, and, although possessing noble principles and sentiments, was austere and forbidding in his external demeanor. Herder's predecessor in the family of the Count,

Thomas Abbt, was a man of the world, as well as an elegant scholar, and understood the art of conforming to the disposition and taste of his patron, with a graceful ease, that made him a decided favorite. Such an intimate relation between the Count and Herder was out of the question, with their great diversity of opinions and views. The Count took no interest in Herder's professional duties, but wished only to possess in him a friend, of education and refinement, with whom he could freely converse on literary subjects, and on ideas suggested by his reading and experience of life. He advised Herder to devote himself entirely to literary pursuits, and to make the duties of his office a secondary consideration. He thought that pastoral labors belonged only to inferior men, and tried to convince him that no human endeavour for the improvement of social institutions could be of the slightest avail. Such principles, so degrading to the destiny of man, and leading to a petrifaction of society, were entirely repugnant to the strongest convictions of Herder. He contended against them with his whole soul. It was his wish, for himself and for others, to advance and not to stand still. He was zealous for improvement, wherever it could be realized; and he loved the sacred office, to which he had consecrated his life and activity. An abject servility towards the great had never been his fault. If he wished to carry any purpose with them, it was not by flattery and affected submission, but by the straight and open path of honor and duty. The loss of time, which he suffered from the nature of his intercourse with the Count, was painful to him, and he could never conceal the unpleasant impression which it made. His purpose of devoting his talents to the promotion of human happiness was always near his heart; and the merely speculative life which he led with the Count was a source of constant discontent. Active usefulness was the great need of his soul, and without this no condition could appear of much value.

He nominally held the office of head pastor of the church of Bückeburg, but the congregation consisted scarcely of twenty persons; and, as the office had been vacant for a long time, even these few were irregular in their attendance. Coming among them an entire stranger, it was only by slow degrees that he could gain the hearts of the inhabitants, through the influence of his sermons, the instruction and confirmation of their children, and the strictness and purity of his moral deportment. His introductory discourse, which he delivered a few weeks

after his arrival in Bückeburg, though filled with deep and ardent feeling, and presenting the most affecting and delightful views of religion, appears to have made very little impression. There was no one who could enter into his ideas, or sympathize with his spirit. He disdained the use of rhetorical artifice to gain attention, although his powers of composition, and the beauty and liveliness of his delivery, gave him uncommon resources for the production of popular effect. He was, in fact, heard with indifference. His audience perceived at the same time that he was no every-day preacher, but they were not moved and agitated, and led to practical resolutions, by his discourse. With all his other gifts for pulpit eloquence, his physical nature presented an obstacle to its exercise. His person was small, his face was almost colorless and of a sickly appearance, and his voice inclining to monotony, and too feeble for a large church. His efforts for the improvement of the schools, which had fallen into decay, were not seconded by the Count, whose pecuniary embarrassments at that time prevented him from making the advances required for that purpose. Upon the whole, Herder found himself out of place at Bückeburg, his mind cramped for want of congenial objects, and his plans impeded by the indifference of others, whose coöperation was essential to success. He thus speaks of himself in a letter to a friend, dated August, 1772. "My situation, with respect to the Count, is still the same;—distant, unacquainted, not suited to each other. A noble lord, but sadly perverted! A great lord, but too great for his land! A philosophical mind, by whose philosophy I am crushed. For myself, I have nothing to do. A pastor, without a flock! A patron of schools, without schools! A consistorial counsellor, without a consistory."

Under these circumstances, it seems that Herder had no disposition to engage in any new literary enterprise, although he was employed in collecting materials for some of his future works, the plan of which he had already conceived. He published nothing at this time but a few contributions to different periodical works. His favorite relaxation was found in the composition of his Sunday sermons, and in a wide course of literary reading, particularly the ancient classics, the principal poets of every age, the old German poets and the national songs of England.

It was some time after Herder was established at Bückeburg

that he became acquainted with the Countess, a woman of a truly feminine character, and possessing rare qualities of intellect and heart. She was naturally of a religious disposition, and had been exposed to influences in early life, that brought her under the dominion of a morbid and ascetic piety. The more humane and liberal views of Herder, which formed the element of his preaching, made a new and powerful impression on her mind; and she soon wished to cultivate a more intimate acquaintance with one, from whom she hoped to receive so much spiritual benefit. With his quick sympathy for every expression of human feeling, and his passion for promoting human improvement, Herder could not but enter with deep interest into this new and friendly relation. He proved the wise religious counsellor, the affectionate guide, and the judicious and faithful instructer, to a mind thirsting for divine truth, and not satisfied with any former attainments. His friendship with the Countess, and the satisfaction he experienced in aiding the spiritual progress of even a single individual, who could fully appreciate his instructions, served in some degree to alleviate the burdens of his situation, but could not entirely reconcile him to it. He still thirsted for a higher sphere of action, in which all his faculties could be exercised, and his plans for the moral improvement of society carried into effect. The choice between the life of a Professor at a University, and a secure and profitable situation in the service of the State, in which he could act directly on the public mind, and at the same time better establish his domestic relations, seems to have cost him a severe struggle.

A journey to Göttingen in 1772, where he became acquainted with the celebrated Heyne and his family, there is no doubt had some reference to this object. Nothing decisive, however, took place; and, after receiving several proposals from different quarters, of an unsatisfactory nature, he determined to remain where he was, until he should be enabled to accomplish the plans, which he had long cherished, for the improvement of education in Livonia.

The uncertain condition, in which he was placed at Bückeburg, induced him to postpone the time of his marriage, until more favorable circumstances should arise. This had been the source of great unhappiness; as the lady, to whom he was attached, was eminently suited to his disposition and tastes, and was herself a rare model of female excellence. As there

was no immediate prospect of a change in his situation, it was determined that the marriage should be delayed no longer. Herder, accordingly, proceeded to Darmstadt for that purpose, where the nuptials were celebrated on the 2d of May, 1773. In her "Recollections of the Life of her Husband," his wife speaks of this event as follows: "An aged and venerable clergyman united us, in the circle of my relations, on a beautiful evening at sunset, in the month of May. It was indeed the blessing of God which he pronounced over us. The love of my brother and sister, and the serene and delightful season, gave a charm to our marriage feast. We seemed almost to hear the approving voice of God upon our connexion."

The new relation, into which Herder now entered, exerted the most favorable influence on his happiness and his pursuits. The next three years he passed in the stillness and peace of a fortunate marriage, in intercourse with many refined and noble minds, whose sympathy and friendship he enjoyed, and in a course of active and constant literary industry. He seemed restored to his own better nature, which his unpropitious circumstances had not been able to destroy. He stood once more on firm ground, accompanied by a being, whose whole soul was in harmony with his, and whom he could cultivate and mould, as entirely belonging to himself. His powers received new life; and with alacrity and joy he hastened to the accomplishment of the intellectual plans, which he had long cherished in his own mind.

During his residence at Riga, he had conceived the idea of his work, entitled "The Oldest Records of the Human Race," and had made some progress in its execution. He now devoted himself to its completion, and published the first part of it in the spring of 1774. The happy influences with which he was surrounded, his glowing fancy, and ardent zeal for every thing beautiful and good, raised him to a lofty enthusiasm for religion, and for the clearer illustration of its primitive sources. He engaged in the composition of this work in the most delightful frame of mind, and almost completed the first part of it in six weeks, in the serene and beautiful summer days, when he would often commence his labors at four o'clock in the morning.

In the winter of 1773–4, he was employed on a work, which attracted much notice, entitled "Provincial Letters to Preachers." This is one of the most original of Herder's

productions, but betrays the marks of great excitement, in some places amounting to invective, against the overstrained exegesis, which had been introduced by such critics as Michaelis, and which he believed fatal to a true perception of the religious sense and poetical beauty of writings of such high antiquity, as those contained in the Bible. His opponents replied, on the other hand, that Herder was too much of a poet to be a good interpreter.

From 1773 to 1775, he preached a series of Discourses on the Life of Jesus, which produced a strong impression on his audience. They were listened to with so much interest, that even the peasants from the neighbouring villages came with their Bibles in their hands, to follow the preacher in the passages which he explained.

In 1774 he wrote his "Philosophy of History," the germ of the great work, which he published ten years after, entitled "Ideas for the History of Humanity." This is the most celebrated, and on many accounts, the most interesting of Herder's productions. Its title is characteristic of the author as well as the subject. It may be said that the greater part of his writings are Ideas for the Philosophy of the History of Humanity. An intense sympathy with the fortunes of the human race, a deep interest in every thing which throws light on their records, and an enthusiastic passion for their spiritual progress, were the leading features of his mind, and are impressed on almost every page of his writings.

His leisure hours were now employed in the collection of the "Popular Songs of Different Nations," a work which opened to him a rich garden of poetry, and became the source of high gratification. He was aided in this pursuit, by the congenial mind of his gifted wife, who shared with him the pleasant hours, which he devoted to this occupation. In 1775 appeared his "Illustrations of the New Testament," from a new-found Oriental source, and the "Letters of two Disciples of Jesus," in which he attempts to show from psychological considerations, that James and Jude were the brothers of our Saviour.

During this year he engaged in a negotiation with the authorities at Göttingen, relative to a Professor's chair in that University. The result of this was his appointment, as Fourth Professor of Theology and University Preacher, subject, however, to the unpleasant condition of submitting to an examina-

tion before the Theological Faculty. It appears, that, though he enjoyed the highest esteem as a man and a writer on literary subjects, his character as a theologian and the soundness of his orthodoxy were laboring under some suspicion, in the minds of the King and the Counsellors of State. The controversy that ensued on this subject is curious, as showing the spirit of petty and conceited bigotry, united with an extreme deficiency in theological learning, which then prevailed in the country, which has since rendered such noble services to the cause of liberal inquiry and sound learning. Herder resisted the attempt to call him to account for his opinions, declaring that the time was past, for one to make a pilgrimage to Rome, in order to have his orthodoxy established, and that, if this was demanded at Göttingen, it proved it to be more domineering than Rome. After much discussion, and some concessions on the part of the Counsellors at Göttingen, Herder made up his mind to undergo the examination, and was actually commencing the journey for that purpose, when he received a proposal from Goethe, in behalf of the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, to accept the situation of Head Pastor and General Superintendent at that court. This offer was joyfully welcomed, and he at once renounced all thoughts of Göttingen.

He removed to Weimar, with his family, in October, 1776. His arrival was greeted with a warm welcome by the Duke, and by Goethe he was received with the regard due to a faithful and intimate friend. The suspicions against his orthodoxy had however followed him to Weimar, and he did not escape the influence of clerical jealousy and ill-will. His introductory sermon, which had been eagerly expected, was delivered before a crowded audience, and produced a powerful impression. The report had been circulated among the people, that he could not preach, and they wished to hear for themselves. They were undeceived by this discourse, and learned to regard his character in the proper light.

The first winter of his residence at Weimar was devoted to learning the duties of his new office. A vacancy of five years had lessened the respect in which it was held, as well as its services and emoluments. The institutions of religion and education were at that time very generally undervalued. Moral and literary cultivation was the object of ridicule, and physical accomplishments alone were deemed worthy of attention. The sacred office, in particular, through the austere and

pedantic character of its members, had fallen into contempt. Frequent comparisons were drawn between the dull and uninteresting life of a clergyman in his parish, and that of a soldier in the field, or a hunter in the forest; and persons of these sentiments, who cherished a high esteem for Herder in other respects, wished for nothing more than that he should enter into their views, and made use of every exertion to accomplish that object. They perceived that he had nothing of the solemn pedant about him, and hence concluded that he was governed by the same frivolous principles with themselves. But Herder was not a person to be influenced by their persuasions or example. He continued immovably attached to his sacred profession, and to his principles of morality, religion, and learning.

The duties of his office as General Superintendent brought him into intimate connexion with the clergy and their churches, and obliged him to listen to the cases of misunderstanding and difficulty, that were constantly occurring. The settlement of these often required a degree of legal knowledge with which he was poorly furnished. Unfitted as he felt himself to be for these services, he was sustained under them by the idea that he was the means of doing justice to many who had been wronged and oppressed. The pastors in the country were soon convinced of his inflexible rectitude and the correctness of his decisions. From his colleagues in the consistory he received little support or sympathy. They regarded him as a dangerous innovator, and opposed, as impracticable and visionary, all his attempts for the improvement of the schools and the regulation of the churches. With these obstacles in his way, he had no resource left, but to diffuse more enlightened views among his opponents and the public at large, through the medium of his public discourses and his personal example. He soon gained the court and city on his side. As the strength of his religious principles became known, he was regarded as a tower in the cause of morality, against the rising flood of irreligion and licentiousness, which threatened the land.

At that time Weimar was the scene of unusual festivity, on account of the recent marriage of the young Duke. Musical entertainments, theatrical exhibitions, public readings, and other elegant and tasteful recreations were multiplied, in which the literary men of the court were called to share, and in this way Herder was at once brought into pleasant and intimate

relations with the reigning family. The mother of the Duke was in the habit of collecting the most polished and intellectual society at her house on stated evenings. These presented an opportunity of very agreeable social intercourse. The reading of some favorite ancient or modern poet, Shakspeare, Lessing, Goethe, Wieland, or Herder himself, or conversation on literature, politics, and the fine arts, furnished abundant materials for entertainment. In these little circles Herder bore a distinguished part. His social disposition and brilliant conversation fitted him to please, while the soundness of his judgment and the purity of his morals gained a general esteem for his opinions and his character. He became a universal favorite, and established a friendship with many of the principal literary men of the age.

His own literary labors were pursued with unabated industry. Works of great compass and research succeeded each other with incredible rapidity, which soon established his reputation as one of the great classical writers of Germany. His most important work at this time in the department of theology, was written in 1780–81, entitled "Letters on the Study of Theology." This work, — some parts of which were translated for "The Christian Disciple," a few years since, with so much taste and fidelity to the original, as leads us to regret that it was not completed by the same skilful hand, — does not purport to be an entire system of theology; but there are few important topics in this science which it does not touch, and on all which it touches it presents striking and original views, and frequently lays down principles of the most important and fruitful consequences.

The acquaintance of Herder with John George Müller, the brother of the great German historian, John von Müller, commenced about this period. Müller afterwards became one of his warmest admirers and most intimate friends, and, after the decease of Herder, superintended the publication of a part of his writings. The commencement of this acquaintance is so illustrative of the beautiful enthusiasm of the German character, that we will relate it in Müller's own words. "On the 7th of October, 1780, I saw Herder for the first time. After the ancient custom of making pilgrimages to a Plato, or Pythagoras, the wise men of foreign lands, I travelled on foot from Göttingen to Weimar, with the sole purpose of seeing Herder. I had read his writings two years before. My first acquaintance with

them deeply affected me, and gave my mind an entirely new impulse. I wished to take his advice with regard to my future studies. He received me in a very friendly manner, and we soon began to talk on my pursuits. I asked his advice on several different points. A serene smile came over his face, as he arose and brought a book from the closet, which he presented me, as containing his written opinions upon all the subjects on which I wished for further information. It was the first part of the 'Letters on the Study of Theology.' It contains these words, so striking, so true, so adapted to the present times: 'The best study of divinity is the study of the Bible, and the best reading of this divine book is with human feelings and sympathies.' It was only an hour before, that he had received the first copy from the publisher. It must have delighted his heart so soon to find a young man for whom the book seemed expressly to have been written, and who received it from his hand with the greatest thirst for knowledge and the warmest gratitude. It answered all the questions which I wished to ask, and many more. My feelings may easily be imagined. From this hour our friendship began. He had gained my heart for ever. The following year I passed six months in his family, where I was treated as a son. After that, I never saw him again. But his friendship was always the same. His fatherly sympathy in every thing that interested me continued until his lamented end. A thousand thanks to the beloved departed I pour forth on the spot where he reposes. His sleep will be soft, his allotment will be lovely, his name will be for ever dear to the friends of truth, of virtue, and of religion, who knew him on earth, or who shall hereafter commune with him in his writings."

In 1782–83, Herder published the first and second parts of the "Spirit of Hebrew Poetry"; a work to which he devoted many of his most happy hours, but which he did not live to complete. In the spring of 1783, he took a journey to Wandsbeck, for the purpose of recruiting his health, and visiting his friend Claudius, an eminent German poet. Here he became acquainted with Klopstock, for whom he had always cherished a high esteem, and who cordially welcomed his friendship. He also made the acquaintance of Jerusalem, a distinguished writer on theology, and a man of a noble and venerable character. While with Claudius, he wrote his first letter to Frederic Henry Jacobi, with the spirit of whose philosophy he

warmly sympathized, in opposition to the dry and critical tone of the school of Kant. In this letter, among other things, he describes his wife, in a manner which illustrates the frankness and simplicity of feeling which are so often found in Germany, connected with the most brilliant mental endowments. "I have a wife," says he, "who is the ornament, the consolation, and the happiness of my life. Even in the most fleeting thoughts, she is so one with me, as often to excite the astonishment of us both. She suffers in her soul only when she sees me suffer. At other times, she is the very image of repose and activity, always full of good spirits and cheerful views."

The pecuniary resources of Herder were limited, and, with his increasing expenses, had occasionally caused him some embarrassment. A circumstance occurred in the year 1788, which, as it indicates the respect that was felt for his character, and presents a rare example of unostentatious generosity, we will here relate. On the 10th of March, he received through the post-office a letter, without name or date, containing two thousand Rhenish guilders, which he was begged to accept, in proof of the esteem of the writer. It expresses the wish "to be allowed the beautiful privilege of doing something for the comfort of a great man," and concludes with saying; "You will never discover who I am; keep silent yourself, for I shall always do so." This liberal gift came at a fortunate moment for the family of Herder, when they were suffering under the pressure of debts, contracted in their removal to Weimar, and in repeated sicknesses, with which they had been visited. It was received with emotions of lively though pensive gratitude towards their unknown benefactor, whom they were never able to discover. A few weeks after this, while Herder was suffering an uncommon depression of spirits, on account of the recent death of a child, and the cares and perplexities of his situation, he received an invitation from the Baron Frederic von Dalberg to accompany him on a tour to Italy. This proposal, it may be imagined, was truly welcome. It gave him an opportunity for necessary relaxation, and, at the same time, enabled him to gratify the wish of visiting Italy, which he had secretly cherished from his youth. The impressions made upon his mind, during this tour, are vividly pourtrayed in the letters which he wrote to his family at home. They present a charming picture of his own character, but are less valuable as

descriptions of the scenery, the literary treasures, and the works of art, which he saw in Italy, than we should have supposed. He returned to Weimar in the summer of 1789, after having received, while at Rome, an urgent invitation through his friend Heyne, to accept a Professor's chair at Göttingen. A great change had taken place, it appears, in the administration of that University; and it was now earnestly desired that Herder should accept the office of Professor of Theology, and First Preacher to the University. The letter of Heyne, on this occasion, shows what a progress had been made in liberal views; since, on his former appointment, Herder had experienced so much embarrassment on account of the suspicions which were cast upon his orthodoxy. "Every thing," says he, "wears a new aspect at Göttingen. Every thing has turned out in your favor. Here you will, and must be, honored and happy. Even Less regards you as the only hope of our theological interests. All classes are impatient for you, as the sole pillar of a sound theology." Herder delayed the answer to this letter until after his return to Weimar, and, after remaining for some time in a state of painful indecision, at last gave his reply in the negative. He was now fixed at the court of the Grand Duke, and by his appointment to the office of Vice-President of the Upper Consistory, his labors were increased, and in a sphere, which, in many respects, was far from being congenial with his tastes. Many duties, merely of a business character, now devolved upon him, which interrupted his literary pursuits and his pastoral labors. The pressure of such inappropriate services began to prey upon his health and spirits. In the winter of 1789–90, he was visited with severe and repeated attacks of sickness, so that his life was considered to be in danger. The return of spring brought with it a return of health, but not in the degree which he had before enjoyed. His depression of spirits continued. He felt that his talents were misdirected, and his time wasted. He was often heard to exclaim, "O, my unprofitable life!" as if the rare and abundant fruits of his activity were nothing compared with the ideal which he had conceived. His labors for the improvement of the churches and the schools in Weimar were indefatigable. His fertile invention was constantly suggesting important changes, and his practical energy led him to spare no pains in their execution. He did not despise the humblest labors, and devoted much time to the composition of elementary books for

the schools, and of improved liturgies and hymn-books for the churches. At the same time, his literary zeal was not relaxed, and several of the most important productions of his pen were published at this period. His writings on theology and general literature, — the fruits of profound and extensive investigation and of original thought, — were numerous, while many more ephemeral productions were furnished to the different periodicals of the day.

Among the subjects which occupied his attention at this time, was the Critical Philosophy of Kant, which, through the character of its founder, the zeal of its disciples, and its own lofty pretensions, had gained a wide ascendency, not only in the peculiar sphere of philosophical speculation, but in all the higher departments of literature throughout Germany. Herder had no sympathy with the dry and anatomical spirit of this system, and deprecated the influence which it had acquired, as hostile to the principles of correct taste, and to the cultivation and expression of some of the most important elements of human nature. His attention seems to have been given almost exclusively to its defects; and, with his enthusiastic and poetical turn of mind, it must be admitted that he was hardly competent to do justice to its great merits as an analytical exposition of the grounds of human knowledge. It occupied a region of thought, with which Herder was not conversant, and the importance of which he was wholly unable to estimate as it deserves. He was admirably qualified, however, to detect its deficiencies, when regarded as a system complete and perfect in itself, and claiming to be the ultimate and exclusive philosophy of human nature. It is much to the credit of Herder's acuteness, — the result in him of an instinctive feeling rather than of an intellectual perception, — that, at the time when this system was held up as a new and infallible revelation, which none but shallow thinkers could doubt, he pointed out its defects, and contended against its influence, on the same grounds on which it has since been successfully attacked, and, though not destroyed, since it contains too much important truth for it to die, made to lower its pretensions, and assume a more modest rank. His principal works on this subject, entitled "Metacritique for the Critique of Pure Reason," and "Calligone," were published in 1799 and 1800. While preparing to continue the controversy, he was induced by the representations of several of his friends, and Goethe, in particular, to lay it aside, and turn his attention to more congenial pursuits.

The health of Herder, which had been gradually yielding under the pressure of his manifold labors and cares, now began to present more alarming symptoms. After several journeys, in the hope of mitigating his complaints, but without permanent effect, he returned to Weimar, suffering under a complication of disorders, and it soon appeared that his constitution was destroyed, and that he had returned only to die in the bosom of his family. His activity, however, could hardly be abated by the pangs of disease; every interval from suffering was devoted to the completion of the works which he had in hand, and his mental powers continued so vigorous, in the midst of extreme physical debility, that he could not renounce the hope of recovery. Soon after the commencement of his last sickness, he would often say, "O for some new, great, spiritual idea, which would fill and penetrate my soul, and I should be well again at once." He desired life only as it would afford him the opportunity to give utterance to many thoughts which were near his heart, and which he deemed important to human happiness. A few days before his death, he expressed the wish that he might live to complete two additional parts of his "Adrastea"; "They should form," he said, "his last finished work, and contain the perfect exhibition of his views." He lamented that he had accomplished so little in life, that he had spent so much time in abstruse and unprofitable subtilties, while the great book of humanity lay open before him, which one ought to read, instead of engaging in high and curious speculations. He was unable to receive the visits of his friends, but could attend for a short time to the reading of some favorite author. The writings of his friend Müller, and the Bible, especially the prophetical parts, were the last which he could bear to hear read. A little music on the harpsichord was soothing to his mind, and he often expressed his desire for it. The hope of recovery, though it grew weaker and weaker, did not entirely forsake him. On Sunday morning, December 18th, 1803, after a violent paroxysm of pain, he fell into a gentle slumber, from which he did not awake. At 11 o'clock in the evening he breathed his last. "Softly and without pain," says his wife, "he slept in the arms of God. All our tears could not again awake him. He was all for which we lived, — the guardian angel who lived for us."

This admirable woman did not long survive her husband. After living to see her children happily provided for, and to

complete the beautiful memorial of her husband, in her own affecting "Recollections of his Life," she died in 1809, the object of universal esteem and affection. With her strong and cultivated mental powers, her delicate taste, and clear perceptions, it would have been easy for her to have acquired a shining literary reputation; but her whole pride was concentrated on her husband, and on the quiet and faithful discharge of her domestic duties. Her influence on the ardent and excitable character of Herder was like the dew on the parching herbage; it softened the asperity of his tone in controversy, it allayed the undue fervor of his style, and refreshed the kinder and more gentle feelings of his nature. He appears to have been fully aware of the peculiar beauty of her character, and ever regarded her as the most precious blessing of his life.

At 9 o'clock in the evening, on the 21st of December, the body of Herder was interred, with the usual funeral solemnities in the Ducal Church of Weimar. "The heavens," says one of his biographers, "which had been clouded over during the evening, shone brightly forth, as the funeral procession appeared, and shed down the light of their radiant stars, as if the glorified spirit were looking, from its serene abode among them, with friendly glances upon the deserted shell of mortality, and upon the loved ones who remained on earth."

A monument was afterwards erected over the grave by the Duke of Weimar inscribed with appropiate religious emblems, significant of eternity and of God, and the words, "Licht, Liebe, Leben" (Light, Love, Life),—a representation, says Müller, which expresses the sum of Herder's philosophy, his religion, his faith, his hope, and his love, the object of all his endeavours, and the true principle of his life.

The most important facts in the personal history of Herder are now before our readers, and we will close the present article, with a general sketch of his character.

He was a man of a happy physical organization; his frame, though not large, was muscular and powerful, but his nervous system delicate and susceptible. He delighted in exercise in the open air, and the daily use of it was indispensable to his health. His elastic temperament gave him a cheerful sentiment of existence, and contributed to the ease and buoyancy of his disposition. His intellectual eye and attractive countenance, as well as the spiritual tones of his voice, indicated the character of his mind, and made it impossible to mistake

him even in the midst of strangers. "Words," says Richter, "like sweet bees, flew from his flower-lips. He made me feel how much he loved God and every child."

The most prominent trait in Herder's character was his rigid sense of justice and honor. "Honor in feeling and in action," he would often say, "makes the power and life of man." This trait was blended with a native goodness of heart and tenderness of feeling, which prevented it from degenerating into an excessive severity. He was peculiarly susceptible to every attack upon his reputation. The suspicions, which every public man is sometimes obliged to encounter, in discharging the duties of his office, he keenly felt as a stain upon his honor. It was a trial, which he could ill endure, to be under the control of persons whose character he did not esteem. He frequently remarked, "that it was a violation of all the laws of nature, physical and moral, for the base and cunning to be intrusted with power; in nature the lower serves the higher, and in our moral relations and human institutions this law ought to be rigidly observed." For every thing mean, vulgar, selfish, deceitful, and false, for all presumption and tyranny, wherever displayed, he cherished a stern and bitter contempt. He often sunk into a profound sadness, when he saw his purest purposes for the moral and literary improvement of the community, entirely frustrated by envy and jealousy. In such moments he found consolation in pursuing his private labors, in communing with the spirit of the ancients, and in affectionate intercourse with his friends and family. The Bible, some volumes of the classics, a few old German poets, with the writings of Pascal and Bacon were usually on his table, and from their perusal he always obtained refreshment and strength. His soul lived in the lofty region of the Good, and to promote this on earth, to further the great interests of humanity, was the ceaseless aim of all his endeavours. But when he saw the noblest objects fail, and the most unworthy and pernicious purposes crowned with success, he could not but lament over the world, with his favorite Shakspeare, as "an unweeded garden," and wish that he might have "wings like a dove that he might flee away and be at rest."

Clearly as he foresaw the prevalence of evil times from the perverted spirit of the age, he never lost his hope of a better future, or became weary of new attempts to hasten its approach.

"Every good man," he said, "was called upon in the sphere allotted to him, if not to produce better times, to prepare the way for them." This faith was to him, as it were the kingdom of God, the very essence of his being. In the execution of his plans for the public benefit, like every man in advance of his age, or the state of society in which he lives, he was doomed to meet with frequent disappointments. These were often occasioned by the frankness of his character, which led him to announce his purposes to unworthy individuals, in hope of securing their aid, but who took advantage of the information thus obtained, to place every obstacle in his way. At other times, he was too negligent in using the proper means to acquire the favor of persons, who possessed influence and resources to promote his designs. He flattered himself too much with the hope that an object of public utility would gain a general sympathy and unite the efforts of others with his own. But when he was obliged to renounce any hope of success, he did not give way to discouragement, but set about the accomplishment of some new purpose. He was entirely free from the small vanity of wishing to be the principal agent in any important enterprise. His soul was filled with more lofty objects, than the indulgence of personal ambition; and, provided that the good which he had in view was achieved, he had no desire that it should be done by himself.

Herder always held genius and talent in the highest estimation, but attached far more importance to the disposition and moral character. He could never yield his homage even to the noblest genius, if it was not connected with sympathy for others, and an interest in the improvement of man. He often lamented that the spirit of the times regarded merely moral worth as of so little value. For the virtue, which was only the result of formal rules, without inward feeling, he had no respect. True genius, he contended, should be always united with a pure heart; and whenever he saw this union, he acknowledged the seal of God.

In his views with regard to the physical world, he has been accused of a tendency to mysticism, and, in the present state of science, it cannot be denied that there is some foundation for this reproach. He believed that there were certain powers of nature and of the soul, not yet explained by philosophy, in accordance with each other and with the known laws of the universe, upon which the human mind is yet to receive further

light. He was acquainted with the writings of the most celebrated mystics, but they did not satisfy him. He believed with them, however, that there are moments of inward abstraction, when the purified mind enjoys glimpses of the future and foresees the shadowy approach of coming events. With the genius of Shakspeare, which cast such deep glances into the hidden world of spirits, he cherished a lively sympathy, and on this account, besides his admiration of his great powers, preferred him to all other poets. His mind was in a constant state of communion with the invisible world. He was wont to indulge in presentiments concerning the future, and often expressed his firm conviction that he should not live to be old.

The organic forces of nature were always a favorite subject of investigation. He wished to penetrate into her secret laboratory, in order, if possible, to discover the laws of her spiritual activity. On this account, he took a deep interest in the progress of the physical sciences. The recent discovery of Galvanism, the improvements that were to be expected in Electricity and Magnetism, the geological system of Werner, the investigations of Camper and Sömmering in Physiology, and even the theories of Dr. Gall on the brain, strongly attracted his attention; and he often lamented that he was born too soon to be a witness of their results to science and humanity. The discovery of the laws of nature, and of their union and harmony with each other and with the universe, even in a moral point of view, was his favorite wish. He was accustomed to say, that "the progress of the human mind in scientific discoveries had introduced a clearer and more certain light into the world; in this path we must carry on the grand structure, and seek for greater certainty and truth, in our knowledge of nature's laws. We must no longer dwell in the twilight of former ages; but the germ of all human knowledge and action, which we have received from them, must become to us the germ of new life and new virtue. We must cultivate this germ, according to our present modes of conception, and the knowledge and power which we have acquired from the past; so that every truth, of which we become certain, may lead us more freely to the great spiritual objects of our being. As physical science receives new light, the operation of spiritual powers is confirmed, and the soul of man is elevated in reverence and love towards the Supreme Creator."

With these views of the knowledge of physical laws and of human nature, Herder regarded the influence of the Critical Philosophy as of the most pernicious character, tending to throw contempt on experience and observation, to substitute in their place the technical language and procedure of the schools, and to perplex the judgment even of the clearest minds. "That and the French Revolution," he would frequently remark, "have put us back a hundred years." At this distance of time and place from the scene of the controversies which then agitated Germany, we may be allowed to observe, that if the disciples of Kant were guilty of an error in elevating the Critical Philosophy to the rank of an absolute and exclusive system, the error of Herder was no less, in the bitterness with which he assailed it from a limited point of view, and the pertinacity with which he confounded its essential principles with their casual and temporary application. It must be admitted, however, in justice to Herder, that his attacks were principally directed against the extravagances of Kant's followers, rather than against the system as it was expounded by Kant himself.

In the relations of society, Herder displayed a serene and cheerful disposition, a lively sympathy with the joys and the sufferings of others, and a turn for humor and good-natured irony. This last trait never led him to pass the bounds of propriety, and it always grieved him when a sportive remark was misunderstood and construed as a matter of serious importance. He delighted to make one in those social circles where a free play of mind was enjoyed, and he was quite as ready to listen as to speak. His rich and manifold knowledge, his excellent judgment, the mild benevolence which shone in every feature of his face, his tender consideration for the feelings of others, and his entire forgetfulness of self, made him a most agreeable and instructive companion, so that men of genius and feeling were glad to cultivate an intimacy with him. In the intercourse of society, he permitted no one to be oppressed with a sense of his superiority, he never attempted to play the part of a great man. Towards the arrogant and assuming, he would, indeed, sometimes show himself harsh and inflexible, but the gentleness of his nature soon returned. He discussed every interesting subject of conversation with a wide reach of thought, and with great vivacity, but always with a sacred regard for truth. "There is only one truth in

every thing," said he, "and that truth is holy." With sophists, who attempted to pervert and undermine the truth, he had no patience; nor with the intellectual despots, who wished to force their own dogmatic decisions upon others, with an insolent disregard to the rights of personal opinion. His modest and sensitive nature could not meet such men on equal grounds, he did not understand the use of their weapons, and, in the last years of his life, as much as possible he avoided their society. He regarded them as a kind of social and moral assassins, and would not put himself in their power. In the common intercourse of life, he was unwilling to say any thing severe and unpleasant, even by the most distant allusion. In the discharge of his official duties, on the contrary, he would express his opinion, whatever it was, without concealment or disguise, scorning to flatter either friend, patron, or adversary. He abhorred every crooked path, every sly and cunning art. The practice, too well understood, of attempting to change falsehood to truth, and truth to falsehood, was the object of his indignation. This hypocrisy and time-serving was repugnant to his whole nature; and in his official relations he always opposed it with a manly courage. "If I accomplish nothing by it," he would remark, "it must be said as a sign and a testimony for the truth."

A few words with regard to the literary habits of one of the most eminent scholars in Germany will probably be acceptable to our readers. The industry of Herder was no less remarkable than his genius. He brought nothing before the public without careful and thorough preparation. When he undertook any literary labor, he digested the plan in his own mind, before he committed a word to paper. He usually chose for this purpose a solitary walk; and the serene expression of his countenance upon his return, indicated the success of his meditations. In the stillness of the morning he completed his plan, and then, for the first time, with a distinct perception of the whole subject, he wrote down his scheme in a tabular form. He composed rapidly and easily. His mind was impelled as by an unseen power; his ideas often deprived him of sleep. In the early part of his life, before his health was impaired, he commenced his labors at four or five in the morning. The forenoon was his favorite time for work, though he often protracted it until the hour of his afternoon's walk, and sometimes until late in the evening. He was never weary with intellec-

tual exertion, and never more cheerful than when laboring on a subject which interested his mind. But he would not touch a subject which had no interest for his feelings or his heart. If the charm of labor was weakened, as it sometimes was, by external circumstances, he would pause and wait for a congenial season. The ideas which employed his mind in the composition of his works, were often introduced into his sermons. In preparing these, he also had regard to any peculiar events in his own life or in the times, which were capable of being touched upon in the pulpit; and his sermons of this description were the most powerful and eloquent which he ever preached.

In the intervals of labor, his favorite recreation was found in visiting and in conversing with literary men, and particularly in poetry and music. In the summer season he delighted in a walk. On such excursions, he always carried a volume of some ancient or modern classic in his pocket.

He was fond of reading his productions, as they were finished, to some literary friend, for the sake of his corrections and advice. The opinions of others, in matters of taste and execution, he was generally willing to follow; but when any principle was involved, nothing could shake him from his own. On being once solicited to temper the severity of some remarks which he felt it his duty to make, as liable to give offence in his circle of society, he replied, "I write not for Weimar; I write for Germany, for the world."

The religious character of Herder may be best understood from the description which has been already given of his life. His religion was not a distinct and separate part of his nature, but intimately blended with every thought and feeling. It sent its vital current through every fibre of his being, and gave health and life and beauty to his whole character. His ideas of God, of the soul, and of Christianity, were of the most elevated and affecting nature. They breathed a holy influence over his heart, and made him, as has been justly said, the Fenelon of Protestantism.

The peculiar traits of his religious character grew out of his religious principles, and of these we propose to give an account in a future article on Herder's theological opinions and services. The translation of a passage from Jean Paul Richter (one of Herder's most intimate friends, and enthusiastic in his admiration of him, as in every thing else), which describes his impressions of his character, in his own peculiar and truly German

style of writing, may interest some of our readers, and will form an appropriate conclusion to the present article.

"This noble Spirit was misunderstood by opposite times and parties; perhaps, not altogether without his own fault; since he had the defect not to be a star of the first, or of any other specific magnitude, but was a cluster of stars, from which every one spelled out a favorite constellation for himself. Men with multifarious powers are always misunderstood; but seldom those who are limited to a single faculty.

"——I was wandering in a lovely garden, until I had an unclouded prospect of the soft, rosy sunset. The nightingales warbled among the flowers; high above them the lark sung among the evening clouds; the Spring had passed through all the leafy groves, and left them hung with odorous blossoms, as her memorial; I thought of that Spirit, which (seldom as we may apply that abused name) I can call not otherwise than a great man. What genial delight he took in trees and flowers, drawing new life from the bosom of the country! Born, as it were with the love-potion of warm affection towards the whole universe, like an eastern Bramin, with his lofty Spinozism of heart, the smallest animal and every flower were dear to him. The travelling-carriage, passing through the green windings of life, was his Sun-chariot; and only under the open heavens, as if amid the music of nature, his heart serenely expanded itself, like a flower.

"Was he no poet,—as he often said of himself, judging by the Homeric or Shakspearian standard,—yet was he something better, namely, a Poem: an Indian-Grecian Epic, composed by the Holiest Maker. How can I attempt to analyze it, since in that beautiful soul, as in a poem, every thing was graciously blended,—the Good, the Beautiful, the True, inseparably united! Greece was to him supreme, and universally as his cosmopolitan taste gave praise and recognition, yet, in his declining years especially, like the far-travelled Ulysses on his return from many a flower land, he hung with the warmest love upon his Grecian home. Herder was formed after a Grecian model, copied from the life. Poetry was not to him merely an appendage in the horizon of life,—as we often see in a stormy sky, within the circle of our vision, a rainbow-colored mass of clouds,—but it hovered over the scenes of coarse and material life, lightly glancing like a rainbow from the gate of heaven. Hence his truly Grecian reverence for all degrees of life, his rightly-placing epic manner, in all his works, which, as a philosophical heroic poem, produced all ages, forms, nations, and spirits, with the power and impartiality of a Creator, before the eye of centuries, on the broad stage of the world. Hence his Grecian hostility against every turning of the scale to either side. Many storm- and torture-

poems could increase the agony which they inflicted on him, even to physical suffering, — therefore, in the Grecian spirit, he early drew around every emotion the lines of beauty, and often the softness of his Attic wit.

"Few minds have been so truly learned, on a large scale, as his. Most persons seek only what is rare and unknown in a science; he, on the other hand, received only the great streams, but of all branches of knowledge, into his heaven-reflecting sea, which impressed upon them its own motion from the west to the east. Many are twined round with their learning, as with the exhausting ivy; he as with the rich clusters of the vine.

"It was the nature of his mind to act, with organic force, in appropriating the widest opposites to itself; to surround the most bitter kernel with the sweetest shell. Thus he united the boldest freedom of speculation on Nature and God, with the most pious faith, even in forebodings and presentiments. Thus he displayed the Grecian humanity, to which he restored the name, in a tender reverence for all truly human relations, and in a Luther-like zeal against every poison, consecrated by religion or the state, that had been poured into them. How nobly, how irreconcilably did he burn with hostility to every creeping spirit, to all torpidity of soul, self-contradiction, unfairness, and poetical effeminacy, as well as to the coarseness of German criticism, and every sceptre in brutal hands! How did he imprecate the serpents of his age! But would you hear the sweetest voice which was ever uttered from human mouth, listen to his tones of love, — whether towards a child, or a poem, or music, — or of tenderness towards the weak.

"When he describes his friend Hamann as an inspired prophet, — when we hear his sorrowful exclamation that his true world and island of friendship has sunk with him into the grave, — we then perceive, from this secret yearning, that he judged far more austerely of the age than we had supposed, from the tolerance and universality which he exhibited. Hence his works are pervaded with a hidden irony, sometimes Socratic, sometimes Horatian, which only his familiar friends understand. Generally speaking, he was little comprehended; in particulars, and not in the whole, was he weighed and estimated; this can only be done by the diamond scales of posterity, from which are removed the flint-stones with which the rude scribblers, the still ruder Kantians, and the rough poetasters of his day, would sometimes stone and sometimes enlighten him.

"His kind spirit gave much and suffered much. Two sayings of his remain, without significance perhaps to others, but to me always fruitful of the deepest thought. One, which he uttered on a Sunday, as he heard the sound of the church-bell, floating down as it were from past centuries, and reminding him, by contrast, of

these cold and barren times: — he wished that he had been born in the middle ages. The other was of a different character: — that he wished he might see a spirit, and that he should feel no horror at such a sight. O, the pure, spiritually-sympathizing soul! To such a soul was this possible, — poetical as it was, and much as such souls are wont to shudder before the deep, still shadows, that rise and dwell on the other side of the dead! For this soul itself was a spirit-apparition upon the earth, and never forgot its native clime.

"He comes before me now, — not in the increase of glory with which men are consecrated by death, — but from his distant eminence, with the same splendor which always surrounded him on earth. I think of him on high, beyond the stars, as in his true place, delivered from the pains of mortality, but else unchanged. Go, then, above, thou pure, thou spirit-friend! celebrate thy harvest-feast. Let the crown of autumn sheaves adorn thy head, instead of the flowers of spring. We will now love together thy great Soul; and if its remembrance sometimes brings a pang of grief, we will again peruse the sacred lines, in which it has announced the Immortal, the God-like, and Itself."

NOTE.

In the commencement of this article, we have alluded to "Taylor's Historic Survey of German Poetry" in terms of decided censure. The merits of that veteran writer in promoting the study of German literature in Great Britain, are not unknown to us, nor the encomium passed upon him by the admirable Translator of "The Characteristics of Goethe." That accomplished lady remarks of him, "that, though she dissents from his view of the general tendency of German literature, she unites admiration for his talents and learning, to an almost hereditary respect for his person and character." * We feel that it would be presumptuous to express an unfavorable opinion of an individual, whom so eminent a judge in these matters as Mrs. Austin deems worthy of her praise, without supporting it by competent proof. A few examples of his mistakes, taken from his account of Herder, may suffice for our justification.

Vol. III. p. 9. Mr. Taylor says, "that Herder was admitted into the family of Trescho, in a nominally menial capacity, but was suffered to play with the children of his master, and to partake the lessons of Latin and Greek, which they daily received from their father."

Trescho had no children. He lived unmarried, and Herder was admitted to his house only as a lodger and amanuensis. His board he received at his father's, and his instruction at the Mohrungen public school, taught by Grimm. This error was probably copied from "Jördan's Lexicon," or some of the Journals which appeared soon after Herder's death. Mr. Taylor could not have made use of very authentic materials in the preparation of his work, for this error is alluded to and

* Characteristics of Goethe. Vol. II. p. 240.

expressly contradicted in "Herder's Leben," by Carl Ludwig Ring, which was published nearly ten years before the "Historic Survey."

See *Herder's Leben, von Ring.* Carlsruhe. 1822. p. 12.

Erinnerungen aus dem Leben von Herder, Erster Theil, pp. 25, 51. Stuttgart, 1830. First edition, 1819.

Ibid. Mr. Taylor says, "that a Russian physician, who came to visit the Trescho family, heard, with interest, the praise of young Herder's industry and attainments, and obtained leave for taking him to Petersburg, where he thought it would be easy to get him a situation as preceptor." Trescho, as we have seen, had no family. The Russian physician was a surgeon in the army, who, returning with his regiment from a campaign, took up winter-quarters in Mohrungen, where he became acquainted with Trescho. His proposal to Herder was to accompany him to Königsberg and study medicine.

See *Erinnerungen,* &c. p. 35. *Herder's Leben,* pp. 20, 21.

Page 10, Mr. Taylor intimates "that Herder engaged in the study of Theology for the sake of obtaining a stipend from the University, and that his friend the surgeon approved of the plan."

Herder abandoned the study of medicine against the wishes of his patron; and it was not until after he had determined to study theology, that he applied for admission into the University.

See *Erinnerungen,* &c. pp. 54, 55. *Herder's Leben,* pp. 24, 25.

Ibid. Mr. Taylor, in speaking of Kant, says, "that Herder, for a time, at least, became an attached disciple of this original thinker, who concealed the boldness of his double doctrine, under the veil of a pedantic, but precise phraseology." Kant had no double doctrine; nor was Herder ever, for a moment, his disciple. He admired his character, but could not abide his philosophy.

On the same page, Mr. Taylor has a long note on Kant, in which it is hard to say, whether the affectation of the style, or the misrepresentation of facts, is the most remarkable. It is enough to observe, that he speaks of the "notorious Gallicanism of Kant's opinions which must endear him to the patriotism of the philosophers of the Lyceum." Gallicanism of Kant's opinions, indeed! A greater contradiction could hardly be put together. What would Coleridge have said to this, who idolized Kant, and thanked God that he had never learned the French language!

P. 14. Speaking of the disease in the eye, from which Herder suffered from his childhood, Mr. Taylor says, "that it attacked him latterly, and somewhat diminished the noble impression of his countenance, and much impaired his satisfaction in study."

The truth is, this disorder had been a source of great annoyance to Herder, when young, but seems hardly to have been thought of amid the infirmities of his later years.

With regard to Mr. Taylor's estimate of Herder's character, we will only say, that he appears to have misconceived it throughout, and is quite as much at war with truth in his general reflections upon it, as in his exhibition of particular facts. If the other portions of his work contain as many errors of judgment and perversions of fact, as his account of Herder, it will be regarded by future scholars only as a record of the ignorance and presumption of the author.

ART. IV. — *The Happiness of the Blessed, considered as to the Particulars of their State; their Recognition of each other in that State; and its Difference of Degrees. To which are added, Musings on the Church and her Services.* By RICHARD MANT, D. D., M. R. F. A., Lord Bishop of Down and Connor. Philadelphia. 1833. 12mo. pp. 188.

THE writings of Bishop Mant are not much known in this country, and their character and style are not such as to ensure them popularity. Their calm good sense, and steady, sober piety, will nevertheless recommend them to readers who esteem those qualities; while the lovers of religious poetry will be pleased with many of the hymns and sonnets with which the bishop is fond of interspersing his prose. An entertaining, a striking, an eloquent writer, Bishop Mant cannot pretend to be; but they who look not for excitement, will find him to be useful to the calmer wants of their souls, and will learn to respect him as a grave and judicious friend.

A considerable portion of the small volume before us, is occupied in discussing the evidence, and especially the Scriptural evidence, of the doctrine of a recognition of friends in the future state. It is on this account that we introduce the present mention of the work, in connexion with some remarks which we purpose to make ourselves on that deeply interesting subject.

When we ask for Scriptural evidence of the reunion of friends in a future state, are we not answered by every passage from Scripture which speaks of that state as a social one? — and the fact is, that it is spoken of there in no other way. Whether the mention is incidental, or direct, it constantly presents heaven to our thoughts as a place or state in which the righteous shall meet together, not exist separately. If we listen to Jesus, we hear him declare, that where he is his disciples shall be also. — If we turn to the Epistles, Paul tells us, that when Christ, our life, shall appear, we also shall appear with him in glory; and the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews points with rapture to the "general assembly and church of the first-born, which are written in heaven." If we pass over to that grand vision which concludes the books of the New Testament, we hear in heaven "as it were the voice of a great multitude, and as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of mighty thunderings, and the voice of harpers harping with their harps." The blessed in

heaven are always represented as being in society, as being with their brethren, with angels, with their Saviour, and with their God.

Now hardly any thing can seem to be plainer, than that, as heaven is a social and not a solitary state, they who live together there must know each other, and that they who knew each other here must know each other there. And it is one of the most reasonable of all propositions, that if we carry any affections with us into the future state, they will fly first of all to salute those, who in this state were their cherished objects. When a mother joins the heavenly company of the redeemed, will she not, if she retains any thing of her former self and nature, if she has not lost her identity and the consciousness of it, will she not ask for "the babe she lost in infancy"? If she is herself, she will ask for it. If God is good, she will find it, know it, embrace it. How she will find it, by what marks know it, and with what exercises renew her love, must be left for immortality to reveal; but the rest, the simple fact of recognition is plain, — so plain that we are disposed to think that the reason why so little is said in the Scriptures of future recognition, is, that it was considered as naturally implied and involved in the fact of a future social state. On such a subject, intimation is equivalent to distinct declaration, and is sometimes even more forcible. Let us see if there are not such intimations of future recognition to be found in the Scriptures, as amount to a declaration of the fact, because they cannot be fully explained except on a supposition of the fact.

Recognition is intimated by exhortations to comfort on the loss of friends. The burthen of our sorrow in the loss of those whom we love, is, that we have lost their society, which was the very dearest thing on earth to us; the most applicable consolation which can be offered to alleviate this burthen, is, that their society is not lost to us for ever, that we shall enjoy it once more, that we shall meet again. Now, what says St. Paul, in his epistle to the Thessalonians. "I would not have you to be ignorant, brethren, concerning them which are asleep, that ye sorrow not even as others which have no hope. For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with him." Beautiful words of assurance and comfort! How soothingly they fall on the wounds of the heart! Well counsels the Apostle soon after, "Wherefore comfort one another with these words."

And what makes them so peculiarly comforting? Not simply the assurance of restoration to life, a waking up of those who have fallen asleep, but the idea of collection, association, reunion, which the language supposes, and which is so pertinent to the case of separation to which they are addressed. As Jesus rose from the dead, even so God will awaken and bring *with* him, those who slept in him; "and so," says the Apostle, "shall we ever be with the Lord." We, who have been parted, shall again be united, and Christ shall be our head, and we shall part no more. That is consolation; consolation which exactly meets the case of distress.

To illustrate this by a comparison, let us suppose it to be necessary that a whole family, united by the tenderest mutual affection, should remove from the land where they had been brought up together, to another land, which is distant indeed, but far better; and to be equally necessary that they should remove, not all together, but one by one, and that there should be an interval of a considerable space of time between each removal. When one member of this family departed for the place of his destination, what would be the most appropriate consolation which could be offered to those who remained behind? Would they be fully comforted by being told, that he who had just gone away, had gone to a country, which enjoyed a more delightful climate than that which he had left; where he would live in health and at ease, and that they themselves would in due season be called to the same country, though to be sure they would live in different parts of it, and not be allowed to see each other any more? Would they be satisfied with this account of their dispersion, though it were to take place in "a land which is the joy of all lands"? It would be imperfect consolation compared with the assurance that in that far, happy land they were to be reunited, after the term of their temporary separation, and renew the intercourse, which in a bleak clime and a barren country had constituted their joy and their wealth. That would be consolation; and such a reunion would be implied, and would naturally be considered as implied, if they were told by a sympathizing friend not to sorrow for their loss as the hopeless sorrow, but to look forward to the land where their relative had gone, and to which they were to be taken themselves.

Other passages, besides the one above adduced, might be quoted, containing intimations to the same purpose. They are

not direct declarations of the fact of recognition, but we cannot read them without supposing that the fact was in the writer's mind; and that indeed he had no other thought on the subject, but that he should certainly know, after the resurrection, those whom he had known before.

The Scriptural evidence in favor of future reunion and recognition, with which the deductions of probability, the inferences of reason, and the dictates of the affections well coincide, amounts to this. Heaven is a social state. If we and our friends are found worthy of an entrance into that state, we shall form a part of its society, and consequently remember and know each other. They who were near to us here, if they are also near unto God, will be near to us there; and, other things being equal, they will be nearer to us than others, simply because we have known them more and longer, and loved them better, than others, and have associations with them so interwoven with our earthly or former life, that they can scarcely be destroyed or disturbed except with our consciousness and memory.

Nor can we see that the restoration of friends to each other's society in a future state, is inconsistent with that universal and heavenly love which will animate the bosoms of all the blessed. Particular affection for those with whom we have been particularly connected, is not inconsistent with a kind and generous affection for many friends, for all the good from all ages and all countries of the world, to whom the better country will be the great and final meeting-place. The ground of this particular affection is, the relation which individuals have held toward each other in this life; and this life, though short in duration, and poor and unimportant when compared with the next, is yet the introduction to the next, the scene of probation for the next, the life in which our affections and virtues have been formed and educated, and have acquired their private associations; and it is therefore not to be supposed that all this is to be made a blank hereafter, as if it had never been. "And when we reflect," says Bishop Mant, "on the pleasure which is imparted to our minds by being admitted, after long separation, to the society of those whom we have known and loved from early years, but from whom we have been constrained to endure a temporary separation; and on the special delight which we experience from renewing, in communion with them, old but dormant affections, retracing in conversation the events of

scenes gone by, and dwelling upon affairs of mutual personal interest; a delight which the formation of no new acquaintance, however virtuous, however intelligent, however amiable, is for the most part found capable of conferring; it may be thought probable, that among their future associates, considered as constituents of the happiness of the blessed, those whom they have formerly known and loved and cherished, will be comprehended; and that the company of the spirits of other just men made perfect, will not preclude a readmission to the fellowship of their former connexions and friends." In short, let it only be premised that friends are worthy of each other's love in heaven, and it is no more than rational to suppose, that they will derive a peculiar satisfaction in each other's society there, from the circumstances with which Providence had bound them together during their sojourn on earth.

But here an objection has been made, founded on the question of worthiness. If some with whom the good have been connected here below, should, from their unworthiness, be excluded from the delights and the society of heaven, the good, it has been said, will, on the supposition of their knowing this, suffer pain, and pain cannot be suffered in heaven.

A few considerations may remove this objection. In the first place, though pain will not be suffered in heaven, there is no reason to believe that a certain degree of regret may not, and that this regret will be so consonant with our sense of justice, that happiness will not thereby be essentially disturbed. Heaven is represented as a place where there will be "no more pain." This is in order to give an idea of its exemption from the accidents and deaths, the sorrows and alarms, to which we are subject here. But such a representation of future bliss, by no means excludes the idea of imperfection. And if the soul is to make progress hereafter, and rise from glory to glory, and from one step of happiness to another, the idea of imperfection must be necessarily attached to such a state, because a state of improvement must needs be a state of imperfection. God himself is the only and absolutely perfect. If we are continually advancing nearer to him, we may be satisfied, grateful, and happy, whether on earth or in heaven, and infinitely more happy, doubtless, in heaven than on earth, on account of the many glorious circumstances which will attend our great change. But if we remember our former selves, we must remember our former sins of transgression and omission, and this remembrance

will produce regret, and this regret, without preventing our enjoyment of heaven's felicities, will, together with other causes, maintain within us a constant humility, a virtue which will not lose its lustre and value amidst the brightest glories of the New Jerusalem. If, therefore, we may remember with regret our own past offences, without losing the privilege of heavenly happiness, we may likewise view with regret the banishment of some of those with whom we were connected on earth by the ties of nature or habit, and yet be so enlightened with regard to the justice and beneficial ends of that banishment, as not to experience therefrom any suffering which would embitter or be inconsistent with celestial blessedness.

Secondly, it must be considered, that vile conduct does alienate brother from brother, and impair affection here on earth. May it not, therefore, be presumed that the good will not take with them into a future state any strong affection, or any other than compassion, for those whose vices have estranged affection, and weakened, if not broken, the bonds of nature and of love. "And it may be," again observes Bishop Mant, "since God's rational creatures are dear to him according to their moral excellence, and since the blessed in the future state will be 'like God'; it may be, that their *affection* toward those, who, in their earthly relation, were naturally the objects of it, will be regulated by this likeness to the Divine nature; and that, whilst it will be ratified, confirmed, and strengthened with respect to such as partake of their Father's blessing, and are objects of his love, it will be annihilated with respect to those who are banished from his presence, and pronounced aliens from his affectionate regard." In one sense, God loves and must for ever love all his creatures,—but the love which he bears toward those who have remembered and kept his commandments, must be of a different character from that which he bears toward those who have forgotten and disobeyed him. And so in a similar manner will the love which the beatified feel for those with whom they walk in heaven as they have walked on earth, be different from the love which they feel for those who wandered from them on earth and meet them not in heaven. God's love for the latter demands their punishment, and the love of his servants toward them will not question its infliction. They will bow before the Supreme Wisdom and Goodness. They cannot regard as their friends those who are not the friends of God. And in this view, it may be said, that

the righteous in the future world will have all their friends with them. They who are not with them cannot be their friends.

And yet memory will be faithful, and love may plead. And here we come to a consideration which may obviate the difficulty advanced better than any other, and on which better than on any other we like to dwell. Though we fully believe that the wicked will be punished hereafter, and will not undertake to deny that they may not retain their wicked dispositions, and thus bring on themselves perpetual punishment, we do not believe that their wickedness or their punishment is necessarily and inevitably eternal. We believe that God's punishments hereafter, as his chastisements here, are designed to be corrective, and that on many, if not on all, they will have a correcting, reforming, and consequently restoring influence. We also believe, according to Apostolic teaching, that "charity never faileth," no, not in heaven. And so we believe that it may extend its pitying and saving regards to those who most need them, to those who have made themselves outcasts from the heavenly country, the city of our God. In what errand, in what duty can the blessed be more celestially employed, than in bringing back, or endeavouring to bring back, into the family of the redeemed, those erring and lost ones, to whom nature had formerly bound and endeared them? May it not be one of the employments, one of the most glorious employments and crowning pleasures, of those who have been saved themselves, to be made instrumental in restoring others, who once were dear, to that peace of spirit which they have madly destroyed, to that heaven which they have justly forfeited? O who that has been found worthy to be a partaker "of the inheritance of the saints in light," would hesitate to forego for a time, and time after time, the society and the joys of his blissful abode, that he might work upon the heart of one whom he had numbered among his family on earth, and place him once more in the same mansion with himself? Who would not pray before the mercy-seat to be sent on such a mission of mercy? "Let me go," he might say, "let me go to the exile, and persuade him to return. He has suffered long. Long has he been wailing in outer darkness. Remorse must have visited his burning heart. Solitude and anguish must have broken down his perverseness. He was not always perverse and wicked. Through the long vista of ages I can see him as he once was. He once was a happy child, an inno-

cent child, affectionate and ingenuous, and pure as the light which beamed from his eyes or played on his clustering hair. I have held him in my arms. I have watched his smiles, and dried his tears. I loved him once. O that I might cherish him again! that I might bear to him thy forgiveness! that I might bring him back to happiness, to heaven, and to Thee!" Would not the Universal Father grant the prayer? Can it be proved to us, that the saints and angels are not and will not be occupied in fulfilling his restoring purposes? Are we told, that between the saved and the lost there is a great gulf fixed, so that they who would pass and repass cannot do so? We will not insist that this argument is drawn from merely the illustrative part of a parable, which is not intended to convey either doctrine or fact; but will grant, that there must needs be a profound separation between the happy and the wretched, the acquitted and the condemned, in the future state; a separation which neither party can pass over at will. And yet, by the permission of the Almighty, and on messages of his own grace and compassion, that gulf may be passed; and what gulf can there be too wide for the wings of love, too deep or broad for the passage of charity?

The considerations which have been mentioned, are abundantly sufficient, to our mind, to obviate the difficulty which they have been brought forward to answer. But if they were less convincing, if the difficulty remained in its full force, yet the doctrine of future recognition would not be disproved. No objection drawn from a probable state of painful feeling for the wicked, could overthrow the fact that heaven is a social condition of being, on which fact the doctrine of the mutual recognition of friends in heaven still would rest unmoved. This fact should be sufficient to content and console us. Heaven is a social state, a city, a kingdom, a church, in which there is a great assembly, an innumerable company, and in which the innocent and good, the servants of the King Eternal, the spiritual and true worshippers of the Father, will meet together, and know each other, and never be separated any more. There the parent will see the child, improved by heavenly culture, and listen to the voice, now made more musical, which in days gone by was the sweetest music he ever heard. There the child will find the parent, and hear from him those words of love and wisdom which were early lost to him on earth. There brother and sister will meet again, and

exchange again that confidence and sympathy which passed between them and united them here. There the widowed wife will meet the husband, and the husband the wife; and though they will be as the angels, where there is no marrying nor giving in marriage, the ties and affections of earth will not be forgotten, and in spirit they twain will be one.

Years soon finish their revolutions. A few more incidents, and the scene of mortal life is closed. Time hastens to restore that which we thought it was too hasty in demanding. Death promptly repairs as well as destroys, rejoins as well as divides, is cruel and kind in quick succession. "All the days of my appointed time will I wait," said the patient man, "till my change come." The last change cannot be long in coming to any. "All the days of my appointed time will I wait," is the language of every pious spirit, "till my change come." All the days are but few. I will wait, and hope, and cheerfully trust, till they are gone. The distance can be but small which keeps me from those whom I have loved, and yet love, and, in the presence of God and my Redeemer, and in the light of heaven, shall continue to love for ever.

"Pass a few fleeting moments more,
And death the blessing shall restore
Which death hath snatched away;
For me thou wilt the summons send,
And give me back my parted friend,
In that eternal day."

[For the Christian Examiner.]

ART. V. — *Essay on the Doctrine of Divine Influence.* — Concluded.

I. DISMISSING, therefore,* the doctrine of the supernatural character of the Divine Influence as it operates upon the human mind, we next observe that there is no sufficient reason for believing that this Influence is "*specially*" communicated, in the modern or "revival sense" of the word. The terms *supernatural* or *miraculous* used in this connexion, have been,

* See Christian Examiner for March, 1835, pp. 50 – 84.

as we have already suggested, for reasons not distinctly avowed, laid aside by some of the more recent and able writers on this subject, though the thought is still contained or implied in the general tenor of their language, and in many of the authorized formularies of that faith, to which they still professedly adhere. We feel justified in making this remark; for if they who use the term "special" and those analogous to it, in reference to this subject, would accurately define the ideas attached to these terms, they would find, that, in removing from them every thing that is strictly miraculous, much, if not all, that is distinctive in them as applied to spiritual influence, would be taken away.

What then is intended to be conveyed by the term "special" as thus used. Are we referred for the meaning to the *effects* of the Spirit, in what are called, in these modern times, "revivals" of religion? This is commonly done. We are directed, with a decisive and triumphant air, by those who use the phrase, and advocate the doctrine, whatever it may be, that is denoted by it, to the alleged effects of the Holy Spirit as manifested in these seasons of excitement, as decisive evidences of their "special" character. They "would as soon doubt," they tell us, "of their own existence, as that these effects proceeded from this influence." But what effects? All? By no means. None, certainly, but those which are "genuine." But which are genuine? Here there is no criterion. The test fails, precisely where its discriminative power is needed. Edwards, the great authority, says, that in these times of excitement there are *no* "unerring signs" of "gracious affections," that is, of those which are caused by the "special" agency of the Spirit. Stoddard, a great "Revivalist" in his day, as quoted by Edwards, observes, "All visible signs are common to converted and unconverted men; and a relation of experiences, among the rest." And of more than twenty modern divines, all high authorities on this point, whose letters are appended to Dr. Sprague's "Lectures on Revivals of Religion," and all of whom believe, with an undoubting confidence, that these revivals are the work of the "Special" Influence of the Spirit, none pretend to be wiser than their great hierarch Edwards on this subject; but all coincide, in a strong, sensible, and edifying manner, in denouncing the mistakes, delusions, excesses, and counterfeit conversions, which usually prevail at such times. They unite, with

one voice, in declaring that the fairest and most promising appearances, in these seasons of excitement, are always liable to be delusive. What then is the value of this test of *fact* or *experience* in ascertaining the true nature of the "Special" Influences of the spirit? We are directed to certain results in a "genuine" revival. But what revival is genuine, none at *the time* pretend to decide; and we are thus carried back to that point in the inquiry, from which we originally started. And if it be to the *remote* effects of revivals, as manifested in a good and holy life, to which we are referred, in proof of their genuineness, as is the fact; * then we assert that it is impossible for any one inferior to the Omniscient Being himself, to determine, amidst the countless moral influences which are continually operating upon the character, what part of this good and holy life is to be ascribed to the efficacy of this alleged "special" influence of the spirit of God in the season of such a religious excitement. In this point of view also, the criterion is vague and unsatisfactory.

What, then, we are constrained to inquire, is meant by the term "special" as applied to the influences of the Spirit? Is it meant that these influences are experienced at certain times and places, *more* than at others, without bringing into view the precise nature of these influences as supernatural or not?† If this be all, we have no difficulty in admitting the fact, though we object wholly to the propriety of the term "special" as thus applied. Undoubtedly there are seasons when the minds of individuals are more open to religious impressions, and more deeply penetrated with a sense of religious responsibleness, than at others; and it is true, also, that this

* See the very judicious Essay of Dr. Woods, prefixed to the "Lectures" above mentioned.

† By many of the definitions which are given of "revivals," as they are called, this is all that is conveyed. We quote one from many, in the "Letters" before referred to. It is that by Dr. Wayland. "By revivals of religion, I mean special seasons in which the minds of men, within a certain district, or in a certain congregation, are more than usually susceptible of impression from the exhibition of moral truth."—p. 236. Waiving the logical inaccuracy, and confusion of thought which is involved in thus making a "revival" a *season* or *time* merely, instead of an agency, or act, or result, which we suppose was meant, we have no objection to this definition, and most earnestly desire that such revivals may be very frequent in all our churches.

state of mind is often extended by sympathy, and skilful use of well known means, to communities. But there is nothing which can properly be called "special" in this agency of God upon the human mind. This is only that "common" or "ordinary" influence, which by Edwards and all subsequent writers of the same common stamp, is distinguished from that "saving" operation which is vouchsafed to the "saints."

We are thus obliged to seek, yet further, for the true import of the term "special" as applied to divine influence. And the only remaining signification that we can gather from the writings of those who have thus appropriated the word is, that it denotes a divine influence imparted at certain times and places and to certain individuals or bodies of men, *while it is withholden from others.* It is this latter circumstance, particularly, which renders this communication of divine influence "special," where it is said to be made. In conformity with this idea, such unscriptural expressions as "clouds of mercy," and "showers of grace," are used to denote that certain districts and small portions of the earth are peculiarly visited by God's gracious presence; and "seasons of refreshing" are spoken of, as periods when an extraordinary "effusion" of divine love is "poured out."

Our first remark on this doctrine is, that it is unscriptural. It has not any direct support in the Scriptures; and it is opposed to all the leading and plainly declared truths respecting the character and government of God, which the Scriptures do contain. Both these positions we shall endeavour to establish in as few words as possible.

In regard to the first point, namely, that the doctrine in question is unwarranted by Scripture, we refer, in proof, to what has already been urged on the total want of Scriptural evidence of the *supernatural* communication of a divine influence. The argument is the same in both cases. The alleged "special" influence communicated to numbers of persons, both under the old and new dispensation, was strictly miraculous; and there is not only no proof that this miraculous agency was extended to any age subsequent to that of the Apostles and that of their immediate followers, but the peculiar circumstances of the case, as we have already shown, *limited* this agency to them.

But in the next place, the doctrine is directly opposed to what the Scriptures *do* declare respecting the character and

government of God. We need not fill our pages with quotations familiar to all. It will be admitted that we are taught in God's revealed word, in a vast variety of phraseology, and in very numerous statements and examples, that our heavenly Father is equally good to all, in all times and in all places. But this cannot be true if He is "specially" good to some, at certain particular times and places. The Scriptures teach that His mercy is from everlasting to everlasting, equally extending to all generations of men. But this is not to be reconciled with the fact, that this mercy is sometimes vouchsafed, and sometimes withholden. The Scriptures teach that in God there is no variableness or shadow of change. But this cannot be so, if He smiles to-day, and frowns to-morrow; or if, in respect to this or that little spot of earth, He now gives and now withholds expressions of His divine regard. The Scriptures teach that He is the common Father and Friend of all His creatures; and that, as the fountain, so the stream, of His paternal love is ever flowing and ever full, and ever open to the faithful and earnest inquirer. But how is this to be reconciled with the fact, that He chooses certain individuals, or certain communities, at certain specified periods, as the "special" objects of His pardon and beneficence, while, meantime, all the rest of His human family are not thus graciously visited, but are for this period at least, excluded from a participation of the favor? The Scriptures teach, as the words of the Saviour himself, that God will "give His Holy Spirit to them that ask Him." But can this be true, if, in point of fact, He will only give it to certain individuals, at certain times and places, whether it is asked or not? It seems to us that these statements of Scripture, and the doctrine in question, cannot both stand together. One must give place. And we cheerfully leave it to the candid and serious inquirer to determine which it shall be.

Our next objection to the doctrine in question, is, that it is derogatory to all just and elevated views of the character of God. It represents him, not as a Being of uniform and unchangeable goodness, but as inconstant and capricious in the bestowment of his favors; not as the everlasting and ever present Father and Friend of all his creatures, but as partial in the allotment of his goodness, equally in regard to person, place, and time. We do not assert, and we are happy not to think, that this is intended by the more intelligent of those

who advocate and press the doctrine. But it is, we apprehend, the necessary inference from it; and it is, in point of fact, the impression which is generally received from it. What should we think of a father of a numerous family, who should, at some particular time, and on grounds of preference known only to himself, select from his children one or two individuals, inhabiting some favored spot, as the objects of his "special" favor, and "pass by" all the rest, with only an ordinary expression of good will, and this, too, without any especial merit on the part of the favored ones, and while all the rest equally desired, and equally sought, and equally labored, and, so far as conduct is concerned, equally *deserved* these special tokens of his love? Would not this be justly deemed an instance of favoritism? Would it not be considered essentially partial and unjust? But how does it differ from the case before us? The "special" and peculiar presence of God, in saving the souls of men, is said to be manifested in a certain place, and in the midst of a certain community. That place and that community are considered as being extraordinarily favored. Here it is, for the time, that the "clouds of mercy" gather. Here it is, for the time, that the "showers of grace" descend. Here it is, for the time, that the "effusion of the Spirit" is poured out. An allusion, and, as it seems to us, an ignorant, or, at least, a scarcely reverent allusion, is made to the day of Pentecost, as if the age of miracles had not passed away, and as if there was the slightest similarity in the circumstances of the two events. The Spirit of God is said to come down "like a mighty, a rushing mighty wind." Thanks are offered for this "special season of refreshing from the presence of the Lord." This is declared to be the "accepted" time, and, it may be, the only accepted time for repentance, at that particular period and place. There must be no delay, no, not for an instant, in taking advantage of this propitious season, lest it pass away, never, never to return, and the sinner then and there be left to hopeless despair. Tidings of its approach and progress are spread over the broad land. It is announced from pulpit to pulpit. It is recognised by thousands of sympathizing spirits in prayer. Newspapers and tracts take up the intelligence, and send it into every nook and corner of the country. Its heralds are found in the village and in the town; at the corners of the streets, and around the domestic hearth. Minute

chronicles are kept of its duration and results. Individual cases of what are thought to be proofs of its presence are given with a minute and offensive particularity. Those strugglings of the soul with itself, which instinctively shun all public observation, are brought into open day, and exposed to the common gaze. The first alarm; the subsequent gloom; the raging of the yet unsanctified passions; the wrestling, as it is irreverently called, of the yet unsubdued spirit with Almighty God; the sinking energies and last throbbings of the spent and passive soul; and then the upward series of the glimmering hope; the brightening joy; the decisive change; and finally, the rapturous, and, may we not say, the presumptuous confidence of pardon sealed, and heaven secured; — all these are recorded, sent abroad, and learned by rote, as examples of the "special" influences of the Spirit of God. But wherefore is it that this particular spot is thus made, for the time, the resting-place of the ark of safety? None can tell. The blessed boon may have been sought and toiled and prayed for by these very individuals years before, but in vain. What becomes of the other tens of thousands of communities of Christians, who are not thus "specially" visited, even of those, too, who sympathize in the same belief, and are divided, it may be, by a merely arbitrary line of township or parish from the favored one? They are left out of that circle to which the "special" blessing of God is confined. And wherefore? None can tell. They have sought and toiled and prayed with equal faith and earnestness as those who enjoy the peculiar favor; but it is in vain. They are still left barren, and unrefreshed by these "showers of grace." Now, how does this differ from the case we have supposed, of a father selecting a portion of his children, at some particular time and place, as the peculiar objects of his love and care, while all the rest are "passed by" with only an ordinary expression of his good will? And if this would be considered an instance of favoritism, partiality, and injustice, in the earthly parent, can we avoid a similar inference, shocking as it is, in regard to our Heavenly Father?

Again; the doctrine in question seems to us to destroy, or greatly to impair, the force of that fundamental truth of our religion, that the whole of this life, wheresoever passed, is a season of probation. Probation means trial. And, in the very idea of trial is implied the opportunity of succeeding in our efforts. But according to the doctrine under remark, the op-

portunity of success is narrowed down to a very short and very uncertain period, granted we know not how or why, and one which, unimproved, may never occur again. This is obviously opposed to the whole tenor of the Scriptures. We are there taught that the whole of our conscious and rational life in this world, is "probation's day"; that God's gracious promises are open to us while this day lasts; that it is never too early to seek his mercy, and it is never too late to despair of obtaining it.

And, in respect to the practical effects of the doctrine upon those who are not the subjects of this "special" grace, must they not be deplorable? Will it not be the reasoning of many, that where the chances of success are so few, both in regard to time and place, it will be hardly worth while to enter on the hard discipline which can alone place them among the candidates for obtaining it? Is it not a fact, too, that, in those places which are thought to have been visited by this "special" presence of the Spirit, there are many, who, not having been the subjects of the requisite excitement, are left in wretchedness and despair, as if for them the "accepted time" were past? And are there not many, also, who, by the same thought, are driven to indifference, to recklessness, and to utter disregard of all religion?

And now will it be said that these remarks proceed on a mistaken view of the doctrine? Will it be pretended that all that is meant to be asserted by it, is, that there are certain seasons, conjunctures, places, and circumstances, which are eminently and peculiarly fitted to impress and awaken the sinner? We reply, that, if this were all, we should have spared ourselves and our readers the trouble of remarking on a truth so plain and undisputed. But this is not all. The language in which the doctrine is stated and urged does not *admit* of this construction. This language, further, is not *intended* to convey this impression; and what is decisive on this point, is, that the impression which is in reality conveyed by it, and is known, by those who use it, to be conveyed by it, is different from, and irreconcilable with, this explanation of the doctrine. It is said, in so many words, that God's Spirit is "specially" and peculiarly "poured out upon" certain places and persons, at certain times. Its approach, its continuance, its effects, and its departure, are, as we have said, accurately described. The most earnest and vehement entreaties, exhortations, and appeals, are

used to induce men to avail themselves of it. They are told that it is a "special season of grace," that there is a "peculiar outpouring" of the Spirit, which, if neglected, may never occur again. And the horrible ingratitude, and the still more horrible consequences, of disregarding this "special manifestation" of the Spirit, are denounced in the most fearful and tremendous terms. And will any say that all that is meant by this, is, that certain circumstances, and certain periods, are better fitted than others to produce religious impressions? *Can* any say this?

III. Our next general remark on the manner in which the influences of the Spirit are manifested, is, that they are not, in themselves, *distinguishable* from the ordinary operations of the human mind.

And, in illustration of this, we first observe, that to assert that they are thus distinguishable, is to assert that a miracle is wrought, as often as the Divine Spirit is thus manifested. And this appears from the fact, that in ordinary states of the mind, it is influenced, as we have had repeatedly occasion to remark, by thoughts, feelings, and emotions, of whose origin, vividness, and intensity, we are ignorant; and which, in consequence, are liable to be altered, in their nature, degree, and efficacy, without our being conscious, at the time, of the agent or agency. This is as true of the religious states or "frames" of the mind, as of those which exist in reference to any other subject. This, we say, is naturally and ordinarily the fact. And hence it follows, that if the operations of a Divine influence upon the mind be distinguishable, as such, from its ordinary movements as it is acted upon by the countless influences to which it is subjected, its well-known and established laws are invaded. It is properly and literally a miracle, just as much as if any of the well-known natural and ordinary laws of the material world were suspended, or altered, or broken. Now does anybody believe, that in all those cases, in which the Divine spirit operates upon the souls of men, a miracle is performed? And yet, obviously, this is asserted just as often as it is asserted that the operations of the Spirit upon the mind are to be distinguished, as Divine, from its ordinary modes of operation. Here, then, is one difficulty with which the system under remark is attended. It goes the full length of taking us out of the ordinary dispensation of Providence under which we live, and of

placing us under a miraculous one. "The agency of the Spirit in our souls," says Paley, * "*distinctly perceived*, is properly a miracle. Now miracles are instruments in the hand of God, of signal and extraordinary effects, produced upon signal and extraordinary occasions. Neither internally, nor externally, do they form the ordinary course of his proceeding with his reasonable creatures." If, then, the accompanying of these Divine influences with a distinguishing mark of their heavenly origin, does in fact endow them with a supernatural character, it is plain that the doctrine in question is exposed to all those objections, which have already, at so much length, been urged against this hypothesis. And with this single remark we might dismiss it.

But the subject is very important, and it may be, therefore, proper to show, briefly, that most of the arguments which have been adduced against the miraculous manifestations of a Divine influence in the human mind, lie equally against those which are said to be in themselves distinguishable as divine.

Thus, it is obvious, that the same argument from experience may be urged, which we have already brought to bear upon the doctrine of an influence supernaturally imparted. Men, who give every Scriptural proof of being moved by the spirit of God in their lives, namely, "goodness, righteousness and truth," nevertheless declare that they are incapable of distinguishing the suggestions of the Spirit from the operations of their own minds. Instances of this kind have fallen under the observation of most persons of mature years. Even Edwards virtually confesses, or implies, that he was moved by the Spirit without at the time knowing it. After speaking of the first instance "of that sort of sweet inward delight in God and divine things that he had lived much in since," he says, "But it never came into my thought, that there was any thing spiritual, or of a saving nature, in this," though he evidently, afterwards, thought there was.

It is equally obvious, that persons not unfrequently declare that they can thus distinguish the movements of God's spirit within, whose lives are wholly wanting in this Scriptural evidence of the fact. Which, then, is to be believed? And, in addition to this, we often observe those who equally claim to be able thus to distinguish spiritual influences by a specific

* See Sermon XXIX, where this argument is more fully elaborated.

mark, and *have equal claims to be believed*, arrive at entirely opposite and irreconcilable results respecting the most important doctrines of religion. Is then this divine and distinguishable light offered to lead men in different directions?

The supposition, further, that the effect of God's agency upon the human mind should be marked by an *express* token of His presence, is contrary to all the analogies of His natural and moral providence. In all other cases, we see the operations of a divine agency only in its results. We are happy to quote again a luminous statement of Paley. It is quite in point. "We distinguish not between the acts of God and the course of nature. It is so with his Spirit. When, therefore, we teach that good men may be led, or bad men converted, by the Spirit of God, and yet they themselves not distinguish His holy influence; we teach no more than what is conformable, as I think has been shown, to the frame of the human mind, or rather to our degree of acquaintance with that frame; and also analogous to the exercise of divine power in other things; and also necessary to be so; unless it should have pleased God to put us under a quite different dispensation, that is, under a dispensation of constant miracles. I do not apprehend that the doctrine of spiritual influence carries the agency of the Deity much farther than the doctrine of providence carries it; or, however, than the doctrine of prayer carries it. For all prayer supposes the Deity to be intimate with our minds." *

We have said that the position now before us involves a miraculous agency. We now press this point one step further, and observe, that it implies the performance of a miracle without any adequate call or occasion for one. Provision is made, in that part of our mental constitution to which we have had frequent occasion to advert, by which new ideas may be suggested, clearer views of divine truth afforded, greater intensity imparted to our emotions and passions, without our being at the time conscious of the producing cause. And as we do not know what that cause or order is, in which ideas and emotions are communicated, so, it is plain, this cause or order may be altered, or departed from, broken in upon, and arranged to suit the purposes of Infinite Wisdom, without the separate knowledge or consciousness, on our part, of the heavenly interposition. Is it reasonable, then, to think that the miracles, implied in accom-

* Sermon above quoted.

panying the influences of the Spirit of God upon the human mind by some distinguishing and palpable tokens of the fact, should thus be causelessly and gratuitously wrought?

Another objection to the doctrine, that the influences of the Spirit are distinguishable, is, that it is nowhere promised, nowhere asserted, in the Scriptures, that these influences should be thus distinguishable from the natural operations of the human mind. Now, if this doctrine were true, it is, beyond question, extremely important. It is fraught, moreover, with consequences, as we shall presently see, truly tremendous. And if it be thus true and thus important, is it conceivable, that it should not have been stated or referred to in the Scriptures? Yet it is not. The influence of the Spirit is promised. The means of bringing one's self within the sphere of its agency are pointed out. Its effects upon the character are described. But these writings do not contain any intimation that this influence, in times subsequent to the Apostolic age, should be in itself so characterized, so marked, so authenticated by a divine stamp, as to be distinguished from the other phenomena of the mind of man.

But this is the feeblest part of the objection to the doctrine before us, derived from Scripture. It is not only not stated that the influences of the Spirit are distinguishable, but, further, it is distinctly stated, and by our Lord himself, that they are *not* distinguishable. In his memorable conversation with Nicodemus, where divine influences are directly spoken of, he compares them to the viewless wind. "This," said he, "bloweth where it listeth; and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, or whither it goeth; so is every man that is born of the Spirit." That is, in effect, a great and essential change is produced. It is the work of the Spirit of God upon the mind. But how, or in what particular manner it is wrought, we know no more than the rules which govern the changes of the atmosphere. The effect we know. The manner of its production, and the mode of its operation, we know not. The doctrine before us, then, is not only without support in the Scriptures, but it stands directly opposed to the express language of Jesus Christ himself.

We have one more objection to the hypothesis that the influence of the Holy Spirit is distinguishable, which, taken in connexion with what has already been offered, seems to us to put the question at rest. We refer to the natural and necessary

effects of the doctrine. These when carried out into their legitimate consequences, are appalling. He who believes that he is under the especial influences of the Spirit of God, and that he can distinguish these from the ordinary operations of his own mind, will, of necessity, feel bound to obey this superior guidance at all hazards. He is thus, in his own belief, taken out of the moral dispensation under which common mortals live, and placed under a miraculous, or, at any rate, an extraordinary and peculiar one. The restraints of law, social order, and common sense; the rules of fitness, prudence, and propriety; the natural obligations of rectitude; and the inborn suggestions of the human heart, — what are all these to him? They are little or nothing worth. He believes himself to be guided by a better light and a stronger law, even a light and law which have emanated directly from God himself, and which bear His express signature and sanction. And what is this but the grossest fanaticism? What is it but a religious phrensy? What is fanaticism, and what is phrensy, but the disavowal of our rational faculties, and the surrendry of ourselves to any internal suggestions and impulses which are believed to be of a higher authority than they? True, these errors do not always run into those shocking extremes which we sometimes witness, and which are multiplied around us in periods of high religious excitement. But the reason is, they are modified and controlled by external restraints, and by that partial influence which the rational powers are, even then, permitted to exert. But their tendency is ever to excess; and the system, fairly carried out, naturally results in excess. And, admitting the soundness of the principle which is avowedly acted upon, those persons act most consistently and consequentially, who most thoroughly and decidedly put all the restraints of reason and common sense at defiance, when these interfere with the divinely marked light from heaven. That these results do often follow from the practical admission of the principle we oppose, is a matter of fact; plain, palpable, every-day, downright fact. It has been, and is, one great source of those lamentable excesses which are perpetrated under the name of "revivals of religion"; and which good men, even of that class of Christians who favor them, are, at length, with late, but most praiseworthy wisdom, uniting to discountenance. And can it be believed that a doctrine, which naturally leads to such results as these, is a doctrine of the Scriptures? Are its results identical with those which

are therein said to be the fruits of the true Spirit of God, namely, "love, joy, peace, longsuffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance"?

And now what is there to be opposed to this mass of objections thus derived from reason, experience, and Scripture? They plainly throw the burden of proof upon the advocates of this doctrine. And when we ask for this proof, we find that, as in the former case, it amounts to nothing more than the simple persuasion of the individual, that he is the subject of influences which are thus distinguishable from the ordinary operations of his own mind, that is, as we have shown, of supernatural influences? But can he himself be assured, beyond a reasonable doubt, that he is not, in this strong persuasion of his, laboring under a strong delusion? We think not. He will not pretend to essay the proof which the Saviour and his Apostles gave, and which alone is decisive of the presence of supernatural *power*, namely, supernatural *works*. What assurance can he have of the fact, which ought to satisfy a reasonable mind, when all his reasoning powers are confessedly suspended, and made to lie in abeyance, by that very persuasion, whose truth and reality are the precise subjects in question? What criterion has he, —and this is the great point, — what criterion has he, by which he can thus distinguish the influences of the spirit of God, from the movements of his mind as it is wrought upon, excited, disturbed, and put off its balance, by nervous excitement, by sickness, by despondency, by an irresistible machinery of external means, or by those unknown causes which are continually altering its temper and tone? He has certainly no satisfactory criterion, which he can make known to other minds; and he has none, as we believe, which ought to satisfy himself. He has nothing but a strong, and, we are willing to admit, a sincere belief, as has been already stated, on which to rely. And this, as we trust we have shown in regard to an avowed supernatural influence, is at war with established principles of the human intellect; is opposed to experience; is irreconcilable with the known laws of God's moral government; is not promised in the Scriptures; is irreconcilable with the plain declarations by our Saviour himself; leads to the excesses of fanaticism; and is one which may be easily accounted for on natural principles, without supposing any interposition of the spirit at all? And is a mere bald persuasion like this, to be regarded or relied

upon? Is it one, to which a man in the possession of his right reason, ought to pay the least respect?

It has, in truth, been long since repudiated by the better class of thinkers of many different sects of Christians; by Locke, Fenelon,* Paley, Priestley; and, in more modern times, by the author of the "Natural History of Enthusiasm," by Archbishop Whately, by the more intelligent Calvinistic writers, and by all those who believe in the strict unity of God; and it only remains that it should be rooted out of the minds of enthusiasts and fanatics of all sects.

IV. Our next general remark has reference to another widespread and very generally adopted mistake concerning the manner in which the Influence of the Spirit is imparted. It is, that this aid is not *arbitrarily* given to a few individuals. We have already adverted to a kindred doctrine, namely, that this influence is "specially" vouchsafed to certain communities, at certain times and places, without any known or assignable cause of preference. But what we now assert is, that it is not given to a few individuals, by an act of divine sovereignty,

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* The authority of Fenelon will, in an especial manner, be deemed important by those who may differ from us on this point, since his views of the "interior life" have exposed him to the charge of mysticism. His language, particularly in his "Lettres Spirituelles," is very explicit and decisive on the subject before us, and fully sustains the reasoning in the text. The Letter, for example, to the Duke de Chevreuse is devoted entirely to the impossibility of distinguishing the operations of God, in themselves considered, on the human soul, from its natural movements. And he not only asserts the fact, but proceeds to show the final causes of this arrangement in that moral providence under which we are placed. We take leave to quote a single passage in illustration of this.

"Nous ne saurions avoir de règle précise et certaine là-dessus au-dedans de nous-mêmes. Nous avons seulement la règle extérieure de nos actions, qui est la conformité aux préceptes, aux conseils, aux bienséances chrétiennes. Si nous avions de plus au-dedans une règle pour discerner avec certitude le principe surnaturel d'avec celui de la nature, nous aurions une certitude de notre sainteté et une infaillibilité pour nous conduire nous-mêmes par inspiration. C'est ce qui est précisément contraire à l'obscurité de la vie de foi, à l'incertitude du pélerinage, et à la dépendance où nous devons être ici à l'égard de nos supérieurs. Nous ne devons donc point chercher ce que l'état présent ne nous permet pas de trouver; je veux dire cette règle certaine pour discerner les mouvemens de la grâce d'avec ceux de la nature, qui peuvent imiter la grâce même." — *Œuvres*, Tome 5e. Lettre V. 8vo. Paris. 1826. See also Lettre CXIII. in the same volume.

who are predestinated unto everlasting life, and this, too, in a perfectly arbitrary manner, and not on account of any thing foreseen in them, and still less on account of any thing they have, or are, or can do, without it; but while they are, by the system, of which this doctrine is a component and necessary part, naturally and necessarily in a state of irremediable sinfulness and spiritual death. We must make a brief and rapid allusion to this doctrine, since it still holds its place in those Creeds and Confessions of Faith, which profess to be Calvinistic; and even in those of Theological Institutions, some of whose Professors place themselves in the very unenviable predicament of solemnly affirming, either at their entrance on office, or at regular periods afterwards, their belief in the doctrine, either "for substance," or with some other mental reservation, but are occasionally found employed in the intervals, as if conscience-stricken for the sin, in neutralizing or in explaining away the obvious meaning of what they thus solemnly affirm in words. We reject it then totally, and in all its separate parts. We believe it to be unsound at its very core, and fatally diseased in all its ramifications. It takes its origin in error, and runs into the most palpable and shocking absurdities. It presents a view of God, of His government, of the condition and prospects of man, which is utterly irreconcilable with all that He has taught us of Himself, as the common Father and Friend of His creatures; irreconcilable with the whole idea of this present life being a state of probation; irreconcilable with all the injunctions of the Gospel to repent and reform, since, by the very statement of the doctrine, it is put out of our power to do so; and it is irreconcilable with the sincerity of all the exhortations, promises, and motives, which are held forth in the Scriptures as inducements to a holy life, because none but a few favorites of the Deity, chosen no one knows how or why, can receive that Divine Influence, which will enable them to comply with these exhortations, to listen to these promises, and to yield to these motives. It seems to us, moreover, that the express language of the Saviour stands in direct opposition to this view of the Divine Influence; and that if he enforces any thing in respect to it with peculiar emphasis, it is, that the spirit of God is promised to all sincere and earnest efforts of all men, everywhere, in all times, under the dispensation of the Gospel. "If ye, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, much more shall your

heavenly Father give the holy spirit to them that ask him." This, if it stood alone, would be decisive of the question before us; but it is, in substance, repeated and recognised throughout the New Testament; and nothing is clearer to our minds, than that the aids of the spirit are not arbitrarily given to a few, and irrespectively of their character and claims, and confined to them; but freely offered to all, who will seek them in the way of God's appointment. His impartiality and equal goodness are made known, not in giving equal degrees of his Spiritual aid to all, or special degrees of it to any, without reference to their moral desert; but by granting it to all, in exact proportion to the use they make of what has been already vouchsafed. In fine, we dismiss the doctrine by observing, that it is one which is dishonorable to the character of God; at war with the whole tenor of the Scriptures, considered as a rule of life; absurd in itself; injurious in its effects upon man; and one, which, having had its origin in a dark age, it is now quite time the world had passed by, and left among forgotten things.

V. We congratulate our readers and ourselves in having gotten almost through the examination of those mistakes in respect to the manifestations of the Spirit, in which the doctrine has been involved. There is one remaining, which we deem of sufficient consequence to notice. It is that this divine aid, in its effects upon the sinner's soul, is *irresistible*; that it performs an unaided work, which we can neither forward nor retard, help nor oppose; that it is effectual with those to whom it is afforded, and renders their safety certain, while, to those who receive it not, salvation is for ever denied. We shall enter into no detailed examination of this doctrine. It is too naked and obvious an error to detain us long. It is plain, if this influence of the spirit be irresistible in its effects, that man is no longer free to choose; and if he be not free to choose, he is not a free agent; and if he be not a free agent, he is not accountable for his conduct; and if he be not accountable for his conduct, it is a mockery to speak of this life as a state of trial; and what more triumphant plea can the sinner want than this? If, again, man is entirely passive in the reception of this divine aid, which is likewise said to be essential to his salvation, what a mockery also are all the precepts, the exhortations, of the Gospel; and all the motives and means of

moral and religious improvement which it suggests. And again, what mean such texts as this, "Grieve not the spirit of God," if the spirit of God be irresistible in its efficacy, and cannot, in consequence, be grieved? What does St. Paul mean, when he speaks of those who have "done despite unto the spirit of grace"; if this grace be irresistible, and can have, in consequence, no despite done unto it? And how could the same Apostle speak of the grace of God not being, in his case, in vain, unless it could have been in vain? And, to quote no further on this point, is it not implied throughout the whole Scriptures, that in whatsoever way the spirit of God operates, whether by suggestion of truths and motives, or in any other manner, its operations, in all cases, may be disregarded and rendered of no effect by the perverseness of sinful men. And if so, how can we listen, for a moment, to the assertion that the movements of the spirit are irresistible?

If then the influence of the holy spirit be not *supernaturally* manifested; if it be not *specially* communicated at certain times and places, in the sense intended by them who favor those excitements called "revivals"; if it be not *distinguishable* in its operations from the ordinary movements of the human mind; if it be not *arbitrarily* imparted to some individuals, and withholden from others; and if, when imparted, it be not *irresistible* in its effects; — the question still recurs, what is the manner, in which it is communicated to the mind of man?

What we deem to be the proper answer to this inquiry has been continually implied in the whole train of our remarks. It requires, however, to be distinctly stated, since we would avoid the not uncommon error of admitting a doctrine in general terms, and then explaining it away in all its details and particular applications.

We believe that the influence of God, designated in the Scriptures by the terms "spirit" and "holy spirit," *coöperates* with the natural powers of man in the improvement of his religious nature; — that no new principle, power, or capacity is thereby added to the human soul, but that it is manifested in developing, strengthening, maturing, and perfecting those which naturally belong to it; that it does not operate necessarily or ordinarily by a sudden, violent, or marvellous change, but gradually and silently, by suggesting truth, by supplying

motives, by enlightening the understanding, and by influencing the will; that all this is effected in perfect congruity and entire consonance with the constitution of our moral and intellectual natures, and is made effectual, and can alone be made effectual, through the voluntary efforts of man. We believe that this presence of the spirit of God to the soul, is *not confined* to a few favored spots, and vouchsafed at particular seasons, to the exclusion of all others, but is *equally offered* to all persons in all places and in all times. We believe that it is *not distinguishable*, in itself, as a separate and extraordinary influence, but, like the principle of animal life, *is known by its effects*, diffusing warmth, sensibility, and power through our moral natures. We believe that it is not *arbitrarily* imparted, that is, without reference to human desert, either in respect to those who are the subjects of it, or the degree in which it is given; but that the rule given by our Saviour in regard to all other good endeavours holds here, namely, "that to him who hath," that is, well uses what he hath, "more shall be given, and he shall have abundantly." We believe that it acts with *no uncontrollable* power, but, like all the other benignant offers of God, it may be accepted or spurned, used or abused; and that, in the reception or rejection of it, there is no infringement of any kind, or in any degree, of man's power freely to choose and act. In a word, it comes to the human soul like the genial influence of the material sun to the embryo plant, creating nothing there, adding nothing to its inherent properties, but warming, quickening, unfolding, calling into new life, maturing, and leading on to its appropriate and wonderful consummation, what was before concealed, dormant, or dead. And, if we may pursue the parallel a little further, we would say, that, like this influence of the material sun, the spiritual light and heat beam on all alike; that, like it too, it performs its gracious work, ordinarily, without violence, noiselessly, imperceptibly, and in perfect accordance with those laws which were, at first, impressed upon the human mind; and that, in fine, as without this influence of the material sun the plant remains inert and undistinguishable in the common earth, so the soul, unquickened by the spiritual agency of the "Sun of Righteousness," is of the earth earthy, and under this heavy load of its earthliness, must lie hopelessly buried.

In regard to the precise mode in which the Divine Influence, or, to use here the simpler terms, God himself, acts upon the

minds of His rational offspring, it is obviously a subject beyond the reach of our present faculties. It is one, moreover, concerning which, it is very important that we should take counsel of our ignorance, and, to this end, that we should learn to understand how ignorant we are. We know that God is intimately and essentially and constantly present to every part of His creation, since, without this presence, it could not continue to exist for a single instant; and we know, further, that he operates on every part of His creation by means of general laws, for this is matter of constant observation, and without them, the business of life could not be carried on. "I believe," says Lord Bacon, "that, notwithstanding God hath rested and ceased from creating since the first Sabbath, yet, nevertheless, he doth accomplish and fulfil his divine will in all things, great and small, singular and general, as fully and exactly by providence, as he could by miracle and new creation, though his working be not immediate and direct, but by compass; not violating nature, which is his own law upon the creature."* And, further, as in respect to the inanimate world His providential care is directed by general laws, yet in a manner to be made capable of producing particular results; so in reference to the spiritual world, while He in like manner operates upon the mind by general laws, they are so ordered as to produce any particular results which the Divine Mind may direct. But *how* God is thus present to His creation, and *how* facts or events are thus connected together according to general laws, we are, and with our present faculties must remain, in profound ignorance. He has thus said to the human intellect, "Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further." And he who is duly aware of the limits which God has thus placed to the human faculties, and of the small achievements of these faculties in human knowledge, will not deem it strange that we remain unacquainted with the precise mode in which this divine influence is brought into contact with the human mind. Of *efficient* causes, even in the world of matter, that is, of any *necessary* connexion between any two consecutive events, we know nothing. Laying out of the question those relations among abstract truths, the knowledge of which is emphatically called science, and which has obviously no connexion with the subject before us; all our philosophy, and all our knowledge of nature, is limited to what

* Catechism of Faith.

are sometimes called, by way of distinction, *physical* causes, that is, to the ascertaining of certain conjunctions or successions of events; and these facts or circumstances, more or less general, comprehending more or fewer particulars, we call *laws* of nature. And even of these laws, or generalized facts, we know but very little compared with what remains to be known. We travel over the earth's surface, and dig through its outer shell, and give as intelligible a description as we can of what we have seen; we arrange together those of its productions which seem to us to have some common resemblance or some common relationship; we analyze things compounded into simpler elements; we resolve particular appearances into appearances more common; we refer strange phenomena to phenomena better known; and, noting the succession of certain effects or results, we connect them together with a theory, sometimes true and sometimes false, — and this we dignify with the name of Science and Philosophy. Meantime, as we have said, we know nothing of the efficient causes of any thing. We know nothing of that internal economy on which the appearances which we observe around us depend. Take the commonest thing that meets your observation, a breath of air, a pencil of light, a ray of heat, a drop of water, or the minutest particle of the common earth, and endeavour to ascertain its essential nature and relations, and you will find it contains that in it, which all the combined science of all time cannot explain, or even refer to the operation of any of those general laws, which are the only legitimate objects of a sound philosophy. *

And if this be true of the world around us, it is still more strikingly so, of that physical, moral, intellectual being, which each man calls himself. Our knowledge indeed of the wonderful machinery of these frames of ours is said to be tolerably complete; but still they contain parts, of the design of which, all the accumulated talent and labor of a distinct class of men, devoted to the subject, during many centuries, is yet obliged to confess its ignorance. It is not even pretended that we can know any thing of the nature of the mysterious principle of *life*, which makes our bodies to differ from the common mass

* "He who shall discover the true general law of the forces by which elements form compounds, will probably advance as far beyond the discoveries of Newton, as Newton went beyond Aristotle. But who shall say in what direction this new flight shall be, and what new views it shall open to us of the *manner* in which matter obeys the laws of the Creator." — WHEWELL. *Bridgewater Treatise.*

of the earth and elements; or of that law or mode of operation; by which, through its instrumentality, our various organs are enabled to secrete and appropriate nourishment, and develope and beautify the human frame; or why it falters in its operations, or why it stops. We are equally ignorant of the principle of *sensation*, or *nervous sensibility*, which seems to be superadded to that of life. We are quite as ignorant, again, of the constitution of our minds; how they are connected with the frail tenement they inhabit; how they receive impressions, through the medium of our senses, from the world without, and how, in turn, they operate upon material organs; how they think, feel, imagine, will, devise means to secure ends, "look before and after," are pervaded by moral sentiments and by a conviction of religious responsibleness. The most we can know of all this, is, some few laws according to which these operations are carried on. In fine, it must be confessed, that we know very little of ourselves, so that with great truth it has been said, "One of the greatest mysteries to man is man." And all mature thinkers on this subject will, we suppose, accede to the conclusion of Locke, that "it will be idle for us, who know not how our own spirits move and act us, to ask in what manner the Spirit of God shall work upon us." *

And, further, if, in connexion with this train of thought, we recollect the exceeding imperfection of our knowledge of the Infinite God, we shall not be prepared to inquire very curiously into that precise mode by which He holds intercourse with the minds of men. If we cannot comprehend the nature of the humblest material thing, and know nothing of the efficient cause of its phenomena, or of the precise agency through which it operates upon our minds, or our minds, in their reciprocal operation, upon that; what can we hope to understand of the nature and mode of acting of the great Author of all. He is obviously and necessarily wholly incomprehensible to our minds, both in the degree of His perfections, and in the manner of His agency. We can have some idea of the *nature* of His perfections from similar qualities of our own souls; we know, too, by an infallible course of reasoning, or rather by an intuitive act of the mind, that they must be infinite in degree. But when we attempt to gain an accurate idea of them, our minds sink away from the effort in amazement and utter helpless-

* Reasonableness of Christianity.

ness, and, in the language of the Patriarch, we are ready to exclaim: — "Canst thou by searching find out God? canst thou find out the Almighty to perfection? It is high as heaven; what canst thou do? — deeper than hell, what canst thou know?" Will any, then, with these thoughts before them, insist upon ascertaining the precise method in which God communicates his Divine Influence to the human soul? Is it not, plainly, a subject that lies beyond the reach of our present faculties? *

But still, in this, as in respect to all the other agencies of God in this lower world, there are some second, physical, or proximate causes, or, to speak more accurately, some general modes or laws of divine operation, which do lie within the cognizance of our minds, and which it is allowable and proper to ascertain.

Thus we know, negatively, and it is a very important fact to know, that, first, whatever these modes of operation are, they are vastly more extensive and varied than those in which men operate upon dead matter, and may be, and probably are, entirely different from them. In this, they can only employ the principles which already exist in the material universe. They can only use what before was. They can only combine what was prepared to their hands. But He *who made nature*, can impart to it any new principles which He deems proper to effect His purposes. In all our reasonings on this subject, therefore, we should be guarded from confining the Divine operations, in the modes of their manifestation, to those narrow limits which restrict our own.

We know, yet further, that while He does thus exercise an influence upon human minds, it must be in a manner totally different from that by which He directs and governs mere material things. This is obvious; since, in whatever way our minds

* "It is reasonable to suppose that the actings of spirit on spirit will be incomparably more refined, more exquisitely untraceable, than those which take place on corporeal substances; and yet how incomprehensibly minute and refined are the vital functions and changes in the smallest visible creatures. He who can maintain and renew all the complexities of the vital system, and the system of instincts, in successive generations of animalcules, can surely bring into the mind a thought seemingly inconsiderable in itself, which yet may be the sole original instrument of the temporal destinies of a kingdom, or the everlasting destinies of a soul." — JOHN SHEPPARD, *Thoughts, &c.*

are thus illumined and guided by the Divine Mind, it must be in some manner that does not interfere with their free agency. We shall in vain seek, in the properties of material affinity, attraction, and assimilation, an efficacy which will suggest motives, guide the will, and excite the aspirations of the immortal soul. It is hardly possible to conceive of a wider difference than must, of necessity, exist between those laws that govern the actions of voluntary agents, and the laws of mechanical force by which the trains of material phenomena are regulated.

And, once more, we know, as a general law that governs the intercourse between the Divine and the human mind, that this Divine Influence, in the natural order of things, is not immediately and directly imparted, but through the *instrumentality of means and second causes.* In this respect we conceive the dispensations of our religion, as has been before intimated, are in perfect analogy with the dispensations of providence. God's hand is to be recognised as the operating cause in all the events which take place around us; but He effects nothing, as we have already had occasion to say, but by the intervention of subsidiary means. All events are connected in one grand series, or succession of results, which, according to their connexion with each other, we call effects and causes; and all coöperate together in producing the designs of the great First Cause. But there is no palpable manifestation of this cause. The work is done; the hand is unseen. God's spirit pervades creation, but it operates by no direct and palpable manifestation of itself. He maintains in being all that lives, not by an immediate ministration of His care, but by giving them organs, desires, wants, appropriate objects, and the means, appliances, and opportunities of using them. He provides us food, not immediately, but by that labor which renders the earth productive, by kindly attempering all the elements, and by all the gracious influences of the heavens. All the laws of the material universe are expressions of thought in the divine mind, but they are uttered in no audible language. God manifests himself in all the aspects of nature, not by any express symbol, any palpable display of His glorious self, but by stamping beauty and grandeur on the whole, and by giving us eyes to see, and hearts to feel, and spirits to adore. In a similar manner, we apprehend, that is, by the intervention of second causes, He holds intercourse with, and pervades, the spirits

of men. He offers to our minds the great truths and sanctions of religion, and disposes us, by an influence which seems to be a self-emanation, to receive them. And this is effected by an indefinite variety of means. He is continually appealing to the religious principles and capacities of our natures, in the wonders of the external world; in the common course of providence; in prosperity and in adversity; in success and in disappointment; in health and in sickness; in giving us objects of love, and in "changing their countenances and sending them away"; in opening new sources of feeling in the heart, and in draining dry and sealing up the currents of affection: in a word, He is perfecting His will in us, by all the events and circumstances of nature, of His general providence, and of our particular lot and condition in life. His spirit is pleading with us, too, in all the consequences of our actions as moral agents; in the approval of conscience which follows good aims and good endeavours; and still more emphatically in that sense of degradation and guilt which follows every act of sin. This same spirit is addressing us in an especial manner throughout the sacred volume of His word, in the history of the Jewish dispensation; in every recorded example of piety; in every encouragement to holiness; in every denunciation against iniquity; in every counsel of wisdom; in every rule of duty; in every prophecy; in every prayer; and particularly and eminently in the teaching, example, death, and resurrection of that blessed Saviour, to whom the Spirit of God was given without measure; and in all the precepts, sanctions, institutions, and peculiar influences of his religion. It is thus, as we apprehend, that all the promises of the Scriptures, in regard to this subject, are continually fulfilled from age to age. Thus it is, that "God worketh in men to will and to do; creating in them a new heart and a new spirit; opening their eyes, drawing, turning, renewing, strengthening them, helping their infirmities."

> "So manifold and various are the ways
> Of restoration, fashioned to the steps
> Of all infirmity, and tending all
> To the same point, — attainable by all;
> Peace in ourselves, and union with our God." *

These views, as those who are conversant with the subject

* Excursion. Book iv.

are aware, are stigmatized as narrow and low; as belittling the efficacy of the holy spirit in awakening, renovating, and sanctifying the sinner; as explaining away and rendering nugatory the doctrine. But do not the same objections lie with equal force against the whole providence of God? Is it more worthy of Him to work by means than without? How unworthy then are all the ordinary dispensations of His love to His creatures! Is it more honorable to Him to operate by a direct impulse upon the souls of men, than to render the whole universe instinct with His informing, guiding, sanctifying spirit? Which is the low and narrow doctrine, — that which teaches us to recognise God's holy spirit in all things; or that which confines it, so far as man's religious advancement is concerned, to certain limited and specific, even though they be express and palpable, impulses? And as to belittling His agency, which does this the more, — a doctrine which restricts this agency to some seemingly capricious and convulsive, even though they be obvious, manifestations of it, and those too which interfere with, and break in upon, the established course of His natural and moral providence, — or one which leads us to perceive His spirit operating in all that exists, in every occurrence, in all beings, in all places,

"Path, motive, guide, original, and end,"

hallowing all by its presence, conferring upon all a diviner meaning, and thus consecrating all to that great purpose which pervades the whole creation, providence, and revealed will of God, — the developement of the whole nature of man, his recovery and renovation from sin, and his sanctification to everlasting life?

There remains but one more important inquiry in regard to this subject. It is, what are the authentic *evidences* of the presence and operation of Divine Influence on the soul. With what proof ought we to be satisfied that God is, in reality, "working within us to will and to do of his good pleasure?" In regard to this, there is, happily, little difference of opinion among judicious inquirers. It in the first place is a *holy life*. The language of President Edwards is very full and decisive on this point, and in this he is followed by all the more learned and sensible divines in modern times, who consider themselves as belonging to the same common denomination of Christians. To enforce this truth is the object of all the con-

cluding part of his "Treatise on the Religious Affections," and it is by far the most able and useful part of the work. We shall quote a few passages as specimens of the whole train of remark.

After adverting at great length, and with much acuteness and discrimination, to twelve distinct circumstances or phenomena in a religious experience, which are "*no* signs that affections are gracious," that is, are occasioned by the "saving" operations of the Spirit; and, in like manner, to twelve more, by which "those affections that are spiritual and gracious, do differ from those that are not so," he thus speaks of the last.

"But I am come now to the last distinguishing mark of holy affections" (that is, those caused by the "saving" operations of the spirit) "that I shall mention. Gracious and holy affections have their exercise and fruit in Christian practice. . . . . I mean, that they have that influence and power upon him who is the subject of them, that they cause that a practice, which is universally conformed to and directed by Christian rules, should be the practice and business of his life." — p. 332.

"Holy practice is as much the end of all that God does about his saints, as fruit is of all the husbandman does about his vineyard." — p. 347.

"Christ nowhere says, Ye shall know the tree by its leaves or flowers, or ye shall know men by their talk, or ye shall know them by the good story they tell of their experiences, or ye shall know them by the manner and air of their speaking, and emphasis and pathos of expression, or by speaking feelingly, or by making a very great show by abundance of talk, or by many tears and affectionate expressions, or by the affections ye feel in your hearts towards them; but by their fruits shall ye know them." — p. 354.

"This (holy practice) is ten times more insisted on as a note of true piety, throughout the Scripture, from the beginning of Genesis to the end of Revelations, than any thing else. . . . . But I can find no place, where either Christ or his Apostles do, in this manner, give signs of godliness (though the places are many), but where Christian practice is almost the only thing insisted on." — pp. 386, 387.

"Now from all that has been said, I think it to be abundantly manifest, that Christian practice is the most proper

evidence of the gracious sincerity of professors, to themselves and others; and the chief of all the marks of grace, the sign of signs, and evidence of evidences, that which seals and crowns all other signs." — p. 394.

"There may be several good evidences that a tree is a fig-tree; but the highest and most proper evidence of it is, that it actually bears figs." — p. 395.

"Christian practice is the sign of signs, in this sense, that it is the great evidence, which confirms and crowns all other signs." — p. 395.

We add a short quotation from a sermon of Paley* to the same effect, and particularly on account of its practical character.

"The efficacy of the spirit is to be judged of by its fruits. Its immediate effects are upon the disposition. . . . . Whenever, therefore, we find religious carelessness succeeded within us by religious seriousness; conscience, which was silent or unheard, now powerfully speaking and obeyed; . . . . . when we find the thoughts of the mind drawing or drawn more and more towards heavenly things; the value and interest of these expectations plainer to our view, a great deal more frequent than heretofore in our meditations, and more fully discerned; the care and safety of our souls rising gradually above concerns and anxieties about wordly affairs; when we find the force of temptation and of evil propensities, not extinct, but retreating before a sense of duty; self-government maintained; the interruptions of it immediately perceived, bitterly deplored, and soon recovered; sin rejected and repelled; . . . . . when we feel these things, then may we, without either enthusiasm or superstition, humbly believe that the spirit of God hath been at work in us."

In this result, as we have already observed, the most judicious writers of the present day concur. But our appeal lies to a more decisive authority than all these, even to the Lord Jesus and his Apostles, and nothing can be more explicit than their language on this point. Thus, "He that abideth in me, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit." "Ye are my friends, if ye do whatsoever I command you." And certainly it is to the friends of Jesus, if to any, that the holy spirit is given. "Whosoever is born of God, doth not commit

* Sermon "On the Influence of the Spirit." Part III.

sin." "The fruit of the spirit is love, joy, peace, longsuffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance." "For the fruit of the spirit is in all goodness, and righteousness, and truth."

These, then, are the authentic evidences that we are moved by the spirit of God. They are not strange, sudden, unaccountable, or miraculous. They do not require the sacrifice of our rational powers. They do not depend upon the fluctuation of the feelings, upon sympathy, heated appeals to the passions, or upon the excitements of crowds. They are seen in practice, quietly but effectually influencing the life, producing repentance, reformation, a growing conformity to God's will, a continually increasing purity, piety, and heavenly-mindedness. They are solid. They are durable. They have "the promise of the life that now is," and can alone prepare us for fuller manifestations of divine favor in the eternal world.

And, as another proof of the reality of God's presence to the human soul, we add, in conclusion, that of Experience. We speak here of no mystical influence, but of one which is clear, distinct, rational, and matter of habitual consciousness with the truly pious spirit. It is a religious peace; a holy joy in God, in his Son, and in the revelations of His will, that no words can adequately express. The soul thus visited from on high will perceive, that Christian truth is to all its capacities like light to the eye, each being made for the other; that the revelation of the Gospel is but the enlargement and confirmation of all other truth; that it interprets all the secrets of our mysterious nature; meets all its inner wants; answers to all its higher aspirations; solves all the dark problems of providence; presents a noble aim to life; gives an all-concerning significance to human conduct; relieves the mind from the anguish of uncertainty respecting the future, from the distress of conflicting passions, from the solicitations of bad desire, from the opposition between duty and feeling, from the stings of remorse, and all the sad requitals of an outraged and hostile conscience. The spirit, thus touched of God, experiences what is emphatically called in the Scriptures a "joy in believing." It opens, continually, to new displays of His exhaustless love; perceives more and more of His stupendous plan of grace in the salvation of man; attains a blessed consciousness of thinking worthily and acting well; and gains more and more of that temper of our Divine Master, which elevates, tranquillizes,

amends, and hallows the life. In every dark hour, its language will be, as it has been, "O what a power there is in the Infinite Mind of Deity, to communicate itself to the soul that looks singly to Him for comfort and support! The greater the exigence, the more perfect the adaptation; the more troubled the sea is around us, the more we feel the security and firmness of our hold upon the Rock of Ages!" In a word, the spirit, thus guided from above, will experience, more and more, that the Saviour's parting promise of "peace" to his immediate disciples is not confined to them, but is fulfilled to his faithful followers now; that it is, indeed, "*his* peace"; that it is given, in very truth, "not as the world giveth"; that it adds to every token of Divine Beneficence some relishes of heavenly blessedness; makes the whole creation one august temple for praise; renders life one continued offering of love and homage; and clothes every event, even while it is "seen and temporal," with the sublimer wisdom of "things unseen and eternal."

We here take leave of this long protracted discussion. Why, are any ready to ask, has it been so long and earnestly pursued? Our answer has already virtually been given in the introduction to this Essay. It is because every thing relating to the Influence of God upon the human soul is of ineffable importance;—because what we deem the truth in respect to it, is the most cheering, sustaining, animating of all truths;—because, moreover, it is a subject that is peculiarly liable to misapprehension, perversion, and abuse;—and, because, in point of fact, it has been, and is, as we conceive, lamentably and shockingly mistaken, perverted, and abused. Therefore it is, that we have labored to give a Scriptural and rational account of it; to assert and prove the doctrine as, we believe, our Lord and his disciples taught it; and, at the same time, to deny all license to dark bigotry, to wild enthusiasm, and to fanatical excess. We have hoped to do something, by which the sincere and earnest inquirer might be guided to true and useful results; to relieve the doctrine from errors and overstatements which have prevented its reception with some enlightened minds;—something to make the great truth felt as well as admitted, experienced as well as acknowledged, that God is near to the human soul as nothing else is near, and near with an all-controlling, all-penetrating, all-subduing power.

ART. VI.—*Lives of Sacred Poets: containing a Biographical and Critical View of English Sacred Poetry during the Reigns of Elizabeth, James, and Charles the First.* By ROBERT ARIS WILLMOTT, Esq., of Trinity College, Cambridge.

To the lovers of whatever is old, because it is old, and to the lovers of what is good, because it is good, whether old or not, this volume will be a source of great pleasure. It has been published with the above title, "under the direction of the Committee of general literature and education, appointed by the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge" in England. The first series only has reached this country.

The object of the work, as the author states in his preface, is not to furnish a history of English Sacred Poetry; "a rapid view of some of its principal cultivators, in addition to the more extended memoirs, was all that could be offered. This object appeared likely to be attained by the interspersion of occasional biographical and critical sketches, together with specimens."

The present volume commences with an introduction, in which are given brief notices of several poets who employed their genius upon sacred subjects previous to the seventeenth century. "It should never be forgotten," says our author, "in speaking of Chaucer, that he was among the first to resort to that precious fountain which his contemporary Wickliffe had opened, and that he drank of the 'water springing up to everlasting life.'"

From the death of Chaucer to the reign of Henry VIII. a blank ensues in English literature. The Réformation which began under Henry, while it gave a vast impulse to the human mind in every department of thought, most especially affected the species of literature we are considering. The book of books was then unsealed; and we at the present day, when Bibles are in every house, can hardly conceive with what eager eyes its pages were pored over, and with what panting hearts its truths and promises were meditated. The stream, that had been for ages dammed up, was set free. The imagination, that had been priest-bound, leaped for joy to find itself at liberty to "wander through eternity," and form a paradise for itself, without consulting the formulas of the Church. Then Poetry, that had left the earth a prey to ignorance, superstition, and tyranny, descended again from the

heaven to which she had flown, and resumed her sway over the hearts of men. The imaginations and affections, that had been shut out by spiritual despotism from the garden of religion, and had been driven to the haunts of vulgarity and earth-born vice, returned to drink at the holy wells that had so long been closed; the faith of the Christian and the aspirations of genius, which had been most unnaturally dissevered, were again united; the devotion of the worshipper and the enthusiasm of the bard flowed once more in the same channel; poet and prophet became one; the first fruits of genius were laid upon the altar; and God was honored, as he should ever be, in the gifts he had bestowed.

And it might with reason have been expected, that the Scriptures, upon being opened to the public eye, should awaken and bring to life whatever of poetry lay concealed in the community. They are not only depositories of truths valuable to every individual, because connected intimately with every individual's present and future welfare, but they abound in brilliant pictures for the imagination; their solid and substantial contents are inlaid with the diamond ornaments of Eastern poetry, which throw a splendid lustre over their pages, making them as delectable to the taste, as they are invigorating to the moral and spiritual nature of man. It is true, the first attempts at sacred verse in England were rude, of which the version of the Psalms in Edward the Sixth's time, by Sternhold and Hopkins, is an example. But a new era was about to commence. The sky of English literature was red with the rising glory of Spenser, and his Faery Queen walked forth with blended majesty and sweetness to captivate all hearts. The poet designed in this work, it seems, "to represent all the moral virtues, assigning to every virtue a knight, to be the patron and defender of the same; in whose actions, the feats of arms and chivalry, the operations of that virtue whereof he is the protector, are to be expressed; and the vices and unruly appetites that oppose themselves against the same, are to be beaten down and overcome."

Among the poets noticed by Mr. Willmott in his Introduction is Robert Southwell. He belonged to the society of Jesuits, and in 1592 was imprisoned on a charge of sedition. After an imprisonment of three years, he was condemned, and executed at Tyburn. We copy the following verses from his lines "Upon the Picture of Death."

"The gown which I do use to wear,
The knife wherewith I cut my meat,
And eke that old and ancient chair
Which is my only usual seat:
All these do tell me I must die,
And yet my life amend not I.

"My ancestors are turned to clay,
And many of my mates are gone;
My youngers daily drop away,
And can I think to 'scape alone?
No, no, I know that I must die,
And yet my life amend not I."

Francis Davison is another of the early poets noticed by our author. He was the son of Mr. Davison, Secretary to Elizabeth. The genius with which he was gifted, formed a beautiful compensation for the reverses of fortune that visited him. Like David, whom he copied, his harp was his companion in the wilderness of his sorrows, and it seems to have been ever vocal with the sweet strains of piety and love. The following verse from the 130th Psalm has music for the ear and the heart too.

"My soul, base earth despising,
More longs with God to be,
Than rosy morning's rising
Tired watchmen watch to see."

The principal part of the volume we are noticing consists of the biographies of Fletcher, Wither, Quarles, Herbert, and Crashaw, with selections from their works. Giles Fletcher was author of a sacred poem called "Christ's Victory," first published in the year 1610. We agree with Mr. Willmott, that in the following stanza "every word is full of beautiful meaning." A writer who could pen such lines ought surely to be rescued from dust and worms.

"No sorrow now hangs clouding on their brow,
No bloodless malady empales their face,
No age drops on their hairs his silver snow,
No nakedness their bodies doth embase,
No poverty themselves and theirs disgrace;
No fear of death the joy of life devours,
No unchaste sleep their precious time deflowers,
No loss, no grief, no change, wait on their winged hours."

The biography of Wither is the longest and most interesting contained in the volume before us. His life, which was a long one, was crowded with interesting incidents. He lived during a period of great excitement and feverish activity, and his ardent temper forced him into the thickest press of the times. One of his earliest productions was a satirical poem entitled "Abuses Stript and Whipt," written by him in a season of disappointment, and, as is frequently the case with satire, more productive of harm to the writer than of good to the community. His imprudence in this work caused him to be thrown into prison. Here he suffered much; but his vigorous mind, conscious of honest intentions, rose above his situation, and he composed in the Marshalsea prison many poems, among others, "The Shepherd's Hunting," a pastoral of great beauty. The following extract from "A Prisoner's Lay," will show that Wither could derive from his gloomy dungeon the most sublime reflections.

"Or when through me thou seest a man
Condemned unto a mortal death,
How sad he looks, how pale, how wan,
Drawing, with fear, his panting breath:
Think if in that such grief thou see,
How sad will 'Go, ye cursed' be!

"Again, when he that feared to die
(Past hope) doth see his pardon brought,
Read but the joy that 's in his eye,
And then convey it to thy thought:
Then think between thy heart and thee,
How glad will 'Come, ye blessed' be!"

We wish we had room also for the exquisite address to Poetry from "The Shepherd's Hunting."

After Wither's liberation, appeared his poem called "The Motto." "Not the least singular part of 'The Motto,'" says his biographer, "is the frontispiece. The author is represented sitting on a rock, with gardens, houses, woods, and meadows, spread beneath him, to which he points with his finger, holding a ribband, on which is written *Nec habeo*, 'Nor have I.' At his feet is a globe of the earth, with the words, *Nec curo*, 'Nor care I.' The poet himself sits with eyes uplifted towards heaven, from which a ray of light descends, and from his lips proceed, *Nec careo*, 'Nor want I.'"

Among Wither's numerous works was the "Preparation for the Psalter," "a specimen of a voluminous commentary upon the Psalms, which the author never completed." We give two verses from his paraphrase of the 148th Psalm.

"Let such things as do not live
In still music praises give:
Lowly pipe, ye worms that creep,
On the earth, or in the deep;
Loud aloft your voices strain,
Beasts and monsters of the main.
Birds, your warbling treble sing;
Clouds, your peals of thunder ring;
Sun and moon, exalted higher,
And you, stars, augment the quire.

"Come, ye sons of human race,
In this chorus take your place,
And, amid this mortal throng,
Be you masters of the song.
Angels and celestial powers,
Be the noblest tenor yours.
Let, in praise of God, the sound
Run a never-ending round;
That our holy hymn may be
Everlasting, as is He."

Wither was present while the city of London was ravaged by the plague in 1625. His fortitude and piety are evinced when he gives the reason why he did not, like multitudes of others, desert the dangerous place. He says that he did "in affection thereunto make here his voluntary residence, when hundreds of thousands forsook their habitations, that, if God spared his life during that mortality, he might be a remembrancer both to this city and the whole nation." He gives a natural and impressive account of his experience during this sad period, in his poem called "Britain's Remembrancer."

In 1641 he published "The Halleluiah, or Britain's Second Remembrancer"; and with this poem, says his biographer, "the poetical life of Wither may be considered to have terminated." The remainder of his mortal career, which extended far into the shades of old age, was any thing but poetical. He had been a friend to royalty and the established church; and it does not appear that he ever became a thorough Puritan, or lost his regard for a well-balanced monarchy. He was honest himself, and probably gave credit for honesty to those who had

selfish purposes to serve, and who breathed the air of discord as if it were a genial and invigorating element. He had never been an ultra royalist. He had always preserved his independence of sentiment. He never prostituted his muse to a cringing and servile flattery of those in power. The Satire which he addressed to James, from the Marshalsea prison, and which breathed such a noble spirit of indignation at injustice, proved that there was in him none of the stuff out of which *court virtues* could be moulded. Hear how he expresses his scorn at "the hired flatterers and eulogists of the day":—

> ——————"Oh, how I scorn,
> Those raptures which are free and nobly born
> Should, fiddler-like, for entertainment scrape
> At strangers' windows, and go play the ape
> In counterfeiting passion."

There appears in all his poems an upright, straight-forward simplicity of character, which, while it led him often into imprudences and personal hazards, made him sympathize with any sincere and well-meant endeavours to rectify public evils and reform social abuses. We find him accordingly during the civil war devoting himself, heart and purse and hand, to the cause of the Parliament. He raised troops in the same cause, and suffered from his farm being plundered by the royalists. He spent many years in wearisome and almost fruitless endeavours to obtain from Parliament remuneration for his losses incurred in supporting their cause. He lost also the favor of his republican friends. A bitter pamphlet, which he wrote against Sir Richard Onslow, caused him to be again imprisoned for a twelvemonth. Our poet seems to have been at one time on familiar terms with Cromwell, speaks of having been carried by the Protector to his own table, and of having received from him the key of his private closet at Whitehall, that he might retire thither when he visited him. He, however, had the boldness and honesty to deliver back the said key when he found a lack of sincerity on the part of that singular personage, and seems not to have been backward in serving him up in conversation a dish of wholesome, though probably not to his taste savory truths. Wither, on the whole, seems to have had but a bitter experience of the Commonwealth's days. Poor, aged, and deserted by former friends, he began to look forward wishfully to the return of the monarchy. Charles the Second was restored; but this event did not better the poor poet's fortunes.

He was again imprisoned 1661. His muse was his companion in Newgate, as it had been on similar occasions before. He was discharged from the Tower, to which he had been transferred from Newgate, in 1663, and died on the 2d of May, 1667.

Francis Quarles was born in 1592. The best known of his poetical works is his Emblems, which is supposed to have appeared in 1635. The following extract we take from the work before us.

"PSALM.

"Ah! whither shall I fly? What path untrod
Shall I seek out, to 'scape the flaming rod
Of my offended, of my angry God?

Where shall I sojourn? What kind sea will hide
My head from thunder? Where shall I abide
Until his flames be quenched, or laid aside?

What if my feet should take their hasty flight,
And seek protection in the shades of night?
Alas! no shades can blind the God of light.

What if my soul should take the wings of day,
And find some desert? If she springs away,
The wings of vengeance clip as fast as they.

What if some solid rock should entertain
My frighted soul? Can solid rocks sustain
The stroke of Justice, and not cleave in twain?

Nor sea, nor shade, nor shield, nor rock, nor cave,
Nor silent deserts, nor the sullen grave,
Where flame-eyed Fury means to smite, can save.

'T is vain to flee; till gentle Mercy show
Her better eye, the farther off we go,
The swing of Justice deals the mightier blow.

The ingenuous child, corrected, doth not fly
His angry mother's hand, but clings more nigh,
And quenches, with his tears, her flaming eye.

Great God! there is no safety here below;
Thou art my fortress; Thou that seem'st my foe,
'T is Thou that strik'st the stroke must guard the blow."

And the man who wrote this is satirized by Pope in the Dunciad thus:

"Or where the pictures for the page atone;
And Quarles is saved by beauties not his own."

We wish we had room to give specimens of this writer's prose, which is equal, if not superior, to his verse.

Gentle, pious Herbert comes next in the gallery of old worthies and sacred poets. At one time he had hopes of political preferment, but these were blasted by the death of many of his noble friends, particularly of James; and, although much disappointed, he brought himself, at length, to a surrender of the "painted pleasures of a court life," that he might devote himself to the work of a Gospel minister. The following lines on Grace are from his "Temple": —

"My stock lies dead, and no increase
Doth my dull husbandry improve;
O, let Thy graces, without cease,
Drop from above!

"If still the sun should hide his face,
Thy house would but a dungeon prove,
Thy works night's captives; O, let grace
Drop from above!

"The dew doth every morning fall,
And shall the dew outstrip Thy dove?
The dew, for which grass cannot call,
Drop from above!

"O come, for Thou dost know the way,
Or, if to me Thou wilt not move,
Remove me where I need not say,
Drop from above!"

We conclude our selections from the work we have been noticing, with the following version of the 137th Psalm, by Richard Crashaw:

"On the proud banks of great Euphrates' flood,
There we sate, and there we wept;
Our harps that now no music understood,
Nodding on the willows, slept,
While unhappy, captived we,
Lovely Sion, thought on thee.

"They, they that snatcht us from our country's breast,
Would have a song carved to their ears,
In Hebrew numbers, then (O cruel jest!)
When harps and hearts were drowned in tears:
'Come,' they cried, 'come, sing and play
One of Sion's songs to-day.'

"Sing! Play! To whom (ah!) shall we sing or play,
If not, Jerusalem, to thee?
Ah, thee, Jerusalem! ah, sooner may
This hand forget the mastery
Of music's dainty touch, than I
The music of thy memory.

"Which, when I lose, O may at once my tongue
Lose this same busy speaking art,
Unperched, her vocal arteries unstrung,
No more acquainted with my heart,
On my dry palate's roof to rest,
A withered leaf, an idle guest."

The author of the "Lives of Sacred Poets" evidently entered upon his task with pleasure, and he has succeeded in collecting from the rubbish of old times many a jewel to adorn the fair forms of Virtue and Piety. "I have walked," to use his own beautiful language, "through the burial ground of our elder poets with no irreverent footstep; and I shall not have lingered there in vain, if I have renewed one obliterated inscription, or bound one flower upon their tomb."

NOTICES AND INTELLIGENCE.

Scenes and Characters illustrating Christian Truth. No. I. Trial and Self-Discipline. By the Author of "James Talbot," "The Factory Girl," &c. pp. 100. — *No. II. The Skeptic.* By the Author of "The Well-Spent Hour," "Words of Truth," &c. pp. 144. Boston and Cambridge, James Munroe and Company. — Both of these little books have appeared since our last number was issued; and the approbation with which the public have received them has been so decided, that we are conscious that our own is hardly needed. Our approbation, however, and our welcome, and our hearty thanks we must give, if it is only to gratify our feelings with regard to them, and to show that we are not insensible to the merits which have won the universal suffrage. We look on these books as commencing, and under the happiest auspices, a new era in our religious literature. We know of no previous work, in our own country certainly, which has so happily presented and illustrated important religious truth, under the forms

of interesting narrative, and adorned with the graces of cultivated composition. "Their beauty makes us glad."

The first of these works sets forth in a manner truly touching and deeply impressive, the influence of religious principle in some of the most trying sorrows of life. It is a series of sketches rather than a continuous narrative; but each sketch has its object, and effects it. It appears to us to be an admirable book to put into the hands of the afflicted and distressed, — of all those who want something to support them, and inspire them with strengthening principle. We should not know what to think of the person, who should read it faithfully through, and not feel improved by the perusal.

The second of these volumes also attains its end by an equally excellent way. We say equally, — though we are aware that some prefer the one, and others the other, — because we perceive that the whole style of execution is so different in both, and in both so good, that it would be hard to say, in fairness, which is the best. People will decide, according to their peculiarities of taste, and according to their state of feeling, and their spiritual needs, at the time of reading them. We shall only say that we are delighted with both. "The Skeptic" is intended to exhibit the influences of Christian faith, and of infidelity, as they work in the fortunes of common and domestic life. Perhaps the book will have no good effect on confirmed and hardened unbelievers, — there are very few things that will; — but we are inclined to think, that on those who are halting between belief and unbelief, who are standing on the confines of light and darkness, it may exert a great and saving power.

Sober Thoughts on the State of the Times, addressed to the Unitarian Community. Boston. E. R. Broaders. 1835. 12mo. pp. 66. — The anonymous author of this able and spirited pamphlet deals for the most part in admonitions and warnings; but he is not the less to be heeded on that account; and besides, he sees much to hope as well as much to fear in the aspect of the times. He undertakes to recount and explain the influences under which the Unitarians of this country have become in many respects a community by themselves, to define the position which they now hold in the religious world, and to indicate some of their peculiar dangers and responsibilities. As the tract has not been very extensively read, we hope that a short passage or two, taken from it almost at random, will serve the double purpose of illustrating the author's manner, and inducing a curiosity to know more of his "Sober Thoughts."

"In all our congregations," he tell us, "and throughout every part of the country, there is a class of men, who have attached themselves to us simply because we are not Orthodox; men, who dislike Calvinism, but like nothing else; who think religion a good thing, that ought to be supported, and are glad to find some form which they can support different from that which they have been taught heartily to hate. They are anti-calvinists, anti-orthodox, anti-zealots, anti-everything severe and urgent in religion. They will not forsake it, because to do so would put them out of good society; indeed, they are not without a vague traditional respect for it. They maintain a pew in the church, for the same reason that the worldly-minded merchant asks his minister to say grace when he has company to dine. It is decent and is expected of him. Such men are found among the loose hangers-on of every sect. A sect in the church militant is made up like an army going forth to war. There is the select body of the wise and hearty, who enter zealously into the merits of the cause, and give themselves to it soul and body. There is the larger number of considerate and faithful adherents, bound to it unflinchingly, but who are merely followers of the opinions of their betters, and take on themselves none of the responsibility of judging the merits of the case, or deciding on the propriety of the measures. There is still another class, who care little about the matter, who are in this army merely because it so happened, but are no more interested in its movements or success, than as they increase or diminish their own personal comforts. And lastly, there are the loose retainers of the camp, now here, now there, now nowhere, who like the protection of the flag and swell the numbers of the march, but who own no allegiance, perform no service, and are but a pestilent hindrance to those who are earnest in the cause. Such men, I say, are hanging about the skirts of every sect, — they hang about ours; would to God we could make good Christians of them! they are far enough from it now." — pp. 13–15.

In speaking of another "crying enormity," he says:

"The agitations of society have disturbed the foundations and weakened the strength of the churches in all parts of the land, and threatened some of them even with extinction. In many humble and impoverished parishes, numbers are few, means are small, and the Gospel is costly. It is an alarming problem yet to be solved, what shall be done to keep alive the fire on those lesser altars; and now that the law has forsaken the church door in this as well as in the other States, a new era has arrived, when the wise must contrive how the Gospel shall be supported among the thinly scattered and feeble, so that its light shall continue to burn, and our children of the coming generations shall be born to the enjoyment of Christian worship. Let those who are able, devise; let the favored and wealthy be ready to contribute; let all ponder and pray; — and God forbid, that, through our remissness, one cottage shall remain upon our blessed fields, whose inmates are beyond the reach of the Sabbath-bell and the pulpit exhortation. There are some who do not feel this aright; — some, blessed by God with property as well as liberty, who fancy that both are for themselves only, and who meanly withdraw from the support of his

worship. There are congregations made up, in considerable part, of men who are more willing to live without the preaching of the Word, than to tax themselves so much for the means of salvation as they do for sugar in their tea, or for needless ornaments on the dress of their daughters." — pp. 35, 36.

The Western Examiner. — Proposals have appeared for publishing at Cincinnati, Ohio, a monthly magazine, under this title, to be mainly devoted to the exposition and inculcation of Christianity as understood by Unitarians, with a particular view to the social and religious condition of the West. Ample space will, however, be allowed for general discussions respecting education and the various benevolent enterprises of the day, and for intelligence in regard to all local topics of interest. The work is to be conducted by the association of Unitarian ministers in the West, one of whom resides at Buffalo, New York, another at Louisville, Kentucky, and another at St. Louis, Missouri; the Rev. Mr. Peabody, of Cincinnati, being the responsible editor. Each number will contain seventy-two large medium octavo pages, making, at the end of the year, two volumes of four hundred and thirty-two pages each; the subscription price of which will be three dollars, payable on the reception of the second number. From our knowledge of the character and abilities of the gentlemen engaged in this undertaking, and of their peculiarly favorable position for understanding and supplying the wants of those for whose benefit the work is especially intended, and of the great need there is of precisely such a work to serve as a point of union and support to the western Unitarians, and a channel of communication and sympathy, between them and their eastern brethren, and also as a check on the efforts made for the spread of error and skepticism, throughout an immense, rapidly extending, and most interesting portion of our country, we cannot doubt that the friends of liberal Christianity, here as well as there, will be willing and eager to give it every encouragement and aid in their power. James Munroe and Co., 134 Washington Street, Boston, are general agents for receiving subscriptions.

Professor Palfrey's Academical Lectures on the Jewish Scriptures and Antiquities. — The annunciation of this comprehensive and much needed work has been received with strong expressions of favor and sanguine anticipation. According to the prospectus, it will consist of four volumes, octavo, of between four hundred and fifty and five hundred pages each; and be furnished to subscribers, handsomely printed and bound in cloth, at the price of two dollars and a half a volume, payable on its delivery. The *first* vol-

ume will discuss the authenticity of the last four books of the Pentateuch, the evidences of the mission of Moses, and the character and objects of his law. The *second* will treat of the records of the primitive and patriarchal times given in the book of Genesis, and of the national history of the Hebrews under the Judges and Kings. The *third* will examine the question of prophetical inspiration in connexion with an account of the literary history and contents of the books of the Prophets, and a detailed exposition of some important passages. The *fourth* and last will be given to the remainder of the canonical and apocryphal writings, and comprise among other things a particular notice of the Psalms which are quoted in the New Testament, and a continuation of the Jewish history down to the Christian era. Whether regard be had to the bearing of these discussions on a proper understanding of the Old Testament, or on the evidences of Christianity, or on other curious and perplexing questions, their appearance, coming from a writer so highly and justly esteemed for his judgment and accuracy, will be impatiently waited for by not a few among general as well as professional readers. As no publisher could be expected to undertake so expensive a work without some assurance of patronage, we are given to understand that it will be put to press early in the autumn, if the number of subscribers at that time will warrant the step, but not otherwise. We hardly need add, that if, from failure here, these Lectures should never see the light, it would be, to the Unitarian community especially, matter of lasting regret and mortification.

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[For the Christian Examiner.]

Art. I. — *On the Unitarian Belief.*

We shall undertake to state in this article what we understand to be the prevailing belief of Unitarian Christians. Our position as a religious body seems still to require statements of this nature. It is a position, that is to say, entirely misunderstood. Misconstructions, once in vogue, seem to have a strange power of perpetuating themselves; or, at any rate, they are helped on by powers that seem to us very strange. In the face of a thousand denials, and in spite of the self-contradicting absurdity of the charge, it is still said, and, by multitudes, seems to be thought, that our creed consists of negations; that we believe in almost nothing. It seems to be received as if it were a matter of common consent, that we do not hold to the doctrines of the Bible, and that we scarcely pretend to hold to the Bible itself. It is apparently supposed by many, that we stand upon peculiar ground in this respect; that we hold some strange position in the Christian world, different from all other Christian denominations.

We must, therefore, if our patience fail not, explain ourselves again and again. We must, again and again, implore others to make distinctions very obvious indeed, but which they are strangely slow to see, — to distinguish, that is to say, or at least to remember that *we* distinguish, between the Bible and fallible interpretations, between Scripture doctrines and the explanations of those doctrines, between mysteries and absurdities, between piety and fanaticism. The former we receive; the latter only do we reject.

Our position in the Christian world is not a singular one. We profess to stand upon the same ground as all other Christians, — the Bible. Our position, considered as dissent, — our position as assailed on all sides, is by no means a novel one. The Protestants were, and are, charged by the Romish Church with rejecting Christianity. Every sect in succession that has broken off from the body of Christians, the Lutherans and English Episcopalians first, then the Scotch Presbyterians, then the Baptists, the Methodists, the Quakers, the Puritans, the Independents of every name, have been obliged to reply to the same charge of holding no valid nor authorized belief. And what has been the answer of them all? It has been the answer of Paul before Felix, — that they did believe; that they "believed all things that are written" in the holy volume.

This same defence, namely, Paul's defence to the Jews, Luther's and Wickliffe's to the Romish Church, — the defence of Knox, of Robinson, of Fox, of Wesley, and Whitfield, and of our own Mayhew and Mathers to the English Church, — this same defence, it has fallen to our lot to plead as Unitarian Christians. We bear a new name; but we take an old stand, — a stand old as Christianity. We bear a new name, but we make an old defence; we think, as every other class of Christians have thought, that we approach the nearest to the old primitive Christianity. We bear a hard name, the name of heretics; but it is the very name which Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Arminians, Calvinists, have once borne, — which all Protestant Orthodoxy has once borne, — which Paul himself bore, when he said, "After the way which they call heresy, so worship I the God of my fathers." We bear a new name; and a new name draws suspicion upon it, as every Christian sect has had occasion full well to know; and we think, therefore, that our position and our plea demand some consideration and sympathy from the body of Christians. We think that they ought to listen to us, when we make the plea, once their own, that we believe, according to our honest understanding of their import, all things that are written in the Holy Scriptures.

There is one circumstance which makes the statement of this defence peculiarly pertinent and proper for *us*. And that is, the delicacy which has been felt by our writers and preachers about the use of terms. When we found, for instance, that

the phrase, "Father, Son, and Holy Ghost," and that the words, *atonement, regeneration, election,* with some others, were appropriated by the popular creeds, and stood in prevailing usage, for orthodox doctrines, we hesitated about the free use of them. It was not because we hesitated about the meaning which Scripture gave to them, but about the meaning which common usage had fixed upon them. We believed in the things themselves, we believed in the words as they stood in the Bible, but not as they stood in other books. But finding that, whenever we used these terms, we were charged as even our great Master himself was, with "deceiving the people," and not anxious to dispute about words, we gave up the familiar use of a portion of the Scriptural phraseology. Whether we ought, in justice to ourselves, so to have done, is not now the question. We did so; and the consequence has been, that the body of the people, not often hearing from our pulpits the contested words and phrases; not often hearing the words, *propitiation, sacrifice, the fall, the new birth,* and *the Spirit of God,*—hold themselves doubly warranted in charging us with a defection from the faith of Scripture. It is this state of things, which makes it especially pertinent and proper for us, as we have said, distinctly to declare not only our belief in the Scriptures generally, but our belief in what the Scriptures teach on the points in controversy,—our belief, we repeat, in what the Scriptures mean by the phrase, "Father, Son, and Holy Ghost," and by the words, *atonement, conversion, election,* and others that stand for disputed doctrines.

To some statements of this nature, then, we now invite attention; only premising further, that it is no part of our purpose, within the brief limits of this exposition, to set forth any thing of that abundant argument for our views of Christianity, which so powerfully convinces us that they are true. Our object, at present, is limited to statement and explanation. We would present the Unitarian creed, according to our own understanding of it.

With this object in view, we say, in general, that we believe in the Scriptures.

On a point which is so plain, and ought to be so well understood as this, it is unnecessary to dwell, unless it be for the purpose of discrimination. If any one thinks it necessary to a reception of the Bible as a revelation from God, that the inspired penmen should have written by immediate dictation;

if he thinks that the writers were mere amanuenses, and that word after word was put down by instant suggestion from above; that the very style is divine and not human, that the style, we say, and the matters of style, — the figures, the metaphors, the illustrations, came from the Divine mind, and not from human minds, we say, at once and plainly, that we do not regard the Scriptures as setting forth any claims to such supernatural perfection or accuracy of style. It is not a kind of distinction, that would add any thing to the authority, much less to the dignity, of a communication from heaven. Nay, it would detract from its power, to deprive it, by any hypothesis, of those touches of nature, of that natural pathos, simplicity, and imagination, and of that solemn grandeur of thought, disregarding style, of which the Bible is full. Enough is it for us that the matter is divine, the doctrines true, the history authentic, the miracles real, the promises glorious, the threatenings fearful. Enough, that all is gloriously and fearfully true, — true to the Divine will, true to human nature, true to its wants, anxieties, sorrows, sins, and solemn destinies. Enough, that the seal of a divine and miraculous communication is set upon that Holy Book.

So we receive it. So we believe in it. And there is many a record on those inspired pages, which he who believes therein would not exchange, — no, he would not exchange it, a simple sentence though it be, for the gathered wealth of a thousand worlds.

That God Almighty, the Infinite Creator and Father, hath spoken to the world; that He who speaks indeed, in all the voices of nature and life, but speaks there generally and leaves all to inference, — that he hath spoken to man distinctly and as it were individually, — spoken with a voice of interpretation for life's mysteries, and of guidance amidst its errors, and of comfort for its sorrows, and of pardon for its sins, and of hope, undying hope, beyond the grave; — this is a fact, compared with which all other facts are not worth believing in; this is an event, so interesting, so transcendent, transporting, sublime, as to leave to all other events the character only of things ordinary and indifferent.

But let us pass from the general truth of this record to some of its particular doctrines. Our attention here will be confined to the New Testament.

I. And we say in the first place, that we believe "in the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost." This was the simple primitive creed of the Christians; and it were well if men had been content to receive it in its simplicity. As a creed, it was directed to be introduced into the form of baptism. The rite of baptism was appropriated to the profession of Christianity. The converts were to be baptized into the acknowledgment of the Christian religion; "baptized into the name," that is, into the acknowledgment, "of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

This creed consists of three parts. It contains no proof, nor hint, of the doctrine of a Trinity. We might as well say, that any other three points of belief are one point. The creed consists of three parts; and these parts embrace the grand peculiarities of the Christian religion; and it is for this reason, as we conceive, and for no other, that they are introduced into the primitive form of a profession of Christianity.

The first tenet is, that God is a paternal Being; that he has an interest in his creatures, such as is expressed in the title *Father;* an interest unknown to all the systems of Paganism, untaught in all the theories of philosophy; an interest not only in the glorious beings of other spheres, the sons of light, the dwellers in heavenly worlds, but in us, poor, ignorant, and unworthy as we are; that he has pity for the erring, pardon for the guilty, love for the pure, kindness for the humble, and promises of immortal and blessed life for those who trust and obey him. God,—yes, the God of boundless worlds and infinite systems, is our Father.

How many, in Christian lands, have not yet learned this first truth of the Christian faith!

The second article in the Christian's creed is, that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, the brightness of his glory, and the express image of his person; not God himself, but his image, his brightest manifestation; the teacher of his truth, the messenger of his will; the mediator between God and men; the sacrifice for sin, and the Saviour from it; the abolisher of death, the forerunner into eternity, where he evermore liveth to make intercession for us. We are not about to argue; but we cannot help remarking, as we pass, how obvious it is, that in none of these offices can Jesus be regarded as God. If he *is* God in his *nature*, yet as Mediator between God and man, we say, he cannot be *regarded* as God.

The third object of our belief, introduced into the primitive creed, is the Holy Ghost; in other words, that power of God, that divine influence, by which Christianity was established through miraculous aids, and by which its spirit is still shed abroad in the hearts of men. This tenet, as we understand it, requires our belief in miracles, and in gracious interpositions of God, for the support and triumph of Christian faith and virtue.

Let us add, that these three, with the addition of the doctrine of a future life, are the grand points of faith which are set forth in the earliest uninspired creed on record; commonly called "The Apostles' Creed." Its language is, "I believe in God the Father Almighty; and in Jesus Christ, his only-begotten Son, our Lord; who was born of the Holy Ghost and Virgin Mary; and was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and was buried; and, the third day, rose again from the dead; ascended into heaven, sitteth on the right hand of the Father; whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead; and in the Holy Ghost; the Holy Church; the remission of sins; and the resurrection of the flesh." Not a word here of "coequal Son," as in the Nicene Creed; not a word of "Trinity," as in the Athanasian. Things approach nearer, it should seem, to the simplicity of the Gospel, as they approach nearer to its date. To that simplicity of faith, then, we hold fast. On that primitive and beautiful record of doctrine we put our hand and place our reliance. We believe "in the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost." May the Father Almighty have mercy upon us! May the Son of God redeem us from guilt, from misery, and from hell! May the Holy Ghost sanctify and save us!

From this general creed, let us now proceed to particular doctrines.

II. We believe in the atonement. That is to say, we believe in what that word, and similar words, mean, in the New Testament. We take not the responsibility of supporting the popular interpretations. They are various, and are constantly varying, and are without authority, as much as they are without uniformity and consistency. What the divine record says, we believe according to the best understanding we can form of its import. We believe that Jesus Christ "died for our sins"; that he "died, the just for the unjust"; that "he gave his life a ransom for many"; that "he is the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the

world"; that "we have redemption through his blood"; that we "have access to God, and enter into the holiest, that is, the nearest communion with God, by the blood of Jesus." We have no objection to the phrase "atoning blood," though it is not Scriptural, provided it is taken in a sense which the Scripture authorizes.

But what now is the meaning of all this phraseology, and of much more that is like it? Certainly it is, that there is some connexion between the sufferings of Christ, and our forgiveness, and redemption from sin and misery. This we all believe. But what *is* this connexion? Here is all the difficulty; here is all the difference of opinion. We all believe, all Christians believe, that the death of Christ is a means of our salvation. But how is it a means? Was it, — some one will say, perhaps, as if he were putting us to the test, — was it an atonement, a sacrifice, a propitiation? We answer, that it was an atonement, a sacrifice, a propitiation. But now the question is, *what is* an atonement, a sacrifice, a propitiation? And this is the difficult question, — a question, to the proper solution of which much thought, much cautious discrimination, much criticism, much knowledge, and especially of the ancient Hebrew sacrifices, is necessary. Can we not "receive the atonement," without this knowledge, this criticism, this deep philosophy? What then is to become of the mass of mankind, of the body of Christians? Can we not savingly "receive the atonement," unless we adopt some particular explanation, some peculiar creed, concerning it? Who will dare to answer this question in the negative, when he knows that the Christian world, the orthodox Christian world, is filled with differences of opinion concerning it? The Presbyterian Church of America is, at this moment, rent asunder on this question. Christians are, everywhere, divided on the questions, whether the redemption is particular or general, whether the sufferings of Christ were a literal endurance of the punishment due to sin, or only a moral equivalent, and whether this equivalency, supposing this to be the true explanation, consists in the endurance of God's displeasure against sin, or only in a simple scenic manifestation of it.

The atonement is one thing; the gracious interposition of Christ in our behalf; the doing of all that was necessary to be done, to provide the means and the way for our salvation, — this is one thing; in this we all believe. The philosophy,

the theory, the theology (so to speak), of the atonement, is another thing. About this, Orthodox Christians are differing with one another, about as much as they are differing from us. Nay, more, they are saying as hard things of one another as they ever said of us. Is it not time to learn wisdom? Is there not good reason for taking the ground we do, — the ground, that is to say, of general belief and trust, without insisting upon particular and peculiar explanations?

We believe in Christ, — and well were it if we all believed in him too fervently and tenderly to be engaged much in theological disputes and denunciations. We believe in Christ. We pray to God through him. We ask God to bless us for his sake, for we feel that Christ makes intercession, and has obtained the privilege to be heard, through his own meritorious sufferings. Christ's sacrifice is the grandest, the most powerful means of salvation. It was a transcendent and most affecting example of meekness, patience, and forgiveness of injuries. It was a most striking exhibition of God's gracious interest and concern for us, of his view of the evil and curse of sin, and of his compassion for the guilty, and of his readiness to forgive the penitent. It was an atonement, that is to say, a means of reconciliation, — reconciliation not of God to us, but of us to God. The blood of that sacrifice was atoning blood, that is, it was blood, on which whoever looks rightly, is touched with gratitude, and humility, and sorrow for his sins, and thus is reconciled to God by the death of his Son.

Now it is possible that we do not understand and receive all that is meant by the Scriptures on this subject. We admit it, as what imperfection ought always to admit; but we admit it, too, for the sake of saying, that, so long as we receive all that we can understand from the language in question, so long as we receive and believe every word that is written, no man has a right to say to us, without qualification, "You do not believe in the atonement." He may say, "You do not believe in the atonement according to my explanation, or according to Calvin's explanation;" but he has no right to say, without qualification, "You do not believe in that doctrine; you do not believe in the propitiation, in the reconciliation, in the sacrifice of Jesus;" no more right, than we have to address the same language to him.*

* In an Introductory Essay to Butler's Analogy, published by a leading defender of what is called the New Divinity in the Presby-

We believe then in the atonement. We believe in other views of this great subject, than those which are expressed by the word *atonement*. But this word spreads before our minds a truth of inexpressible interest. The reconciliation by Jesus Christ, his interposition to bring us nigh to God, is to us his

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terian Church, the author says, "We maintain that the system of Unitarians, which denies all such substitution," — meaning the removal of calamities from us, in ordinary life, by the interposition and suffering of another, — "is a violation of all the modes in which God has yet dispensed his blessings to man." We may just observe in passing, that the respectable author would not say, on reflection, "of *all* the modes"; for many of the most momentous blessings are dispensed to us through our own agency. But this is what he would say, that the Unitarian belief, with regard to the atonement, violates, as he conceives, one great principle of the divine beneficence. And that is the principle, that blessings are often conferred on us, in the course of Providence, through the instrumentality of others, — of parents, friends, fellow beings, &c. "It is by years of patient toil in others," says Mr. Barnes, in this Essay, "that we possess the elements of science, the principles of morals, the endowments of religion." "Over a helpless babe, — ushered into the world, naked, feeble, speechless, there impends hunger, cold, sickness, sudden death, — a mother's watchfulness averts these evils. Over a nation impend revolutions, sword, famine, and the pestilence. The blood of the patriot averts these, and the nation smiles in peace." It is true that the author does "not affirm that this is *all* that is meant by an atonement," and herein we entirely agree with him. But he certainly is mistaken, when he says, that Unitarians deny all such substitution. We deny the Calvinistic explanation of atonement or substitution. We might reject the author's hypothesis too, if we knew what it was. But does it follow, that we deny all substitution? If all reputed belief in the atonement is to depend on receiving one particular explanation of it, where is this to end? The party in the Presbyterian Church which strictly adheres to their standards, that is, to the genuine old Calvinistic theology, charges Mr. Barnes and his friends, and the body of New England Divines, with holding "another gospel." These again charge Dr. Taylor and the New-Haven School with holding "another gospel." Meanwhile, each of these bodies very stoutly defends its position, insists upon its adherence to Christianity, and protests against the sentence of excision. Has either of these parties obtained a monopoly in protestation and profession? Are liberality and candor to stop with each party, just where its convenience may dictate? Have they needed charity so much, that they have used it all up? Is the last chance of a candid and kind construction gone by? and is nobody ever to be permitted any more to say, "We believe in the Gospel, though not according to your explanation"?

There are, perhaps, no more accredited defenders of the popular doctrine of the atonement than Andrew Fuller and Bishop Magee. Fuller, as quoted by Evans in his "Sketch," says, "If we say, a way was opened by *the death of Christ*, for the free and consistent exercise

grandest office. To our minds there is no sentence of the holy volume more interesting, more weighty, more precious, than that passage in the sublime Epistle to the Ephesians, "Ye were strangers from the covenants of promise, having no hope, and without God in the world; but now in Christ Jesus, ye who sometime were far off are brought nigh by the blood of Christ." It is this which the world needed; it is this which every mind now needs, beyond all things, — to be brought nigh to God. By error, by superstition and sin, by slavish fears and guilty passions, and wicked ways, we were separated from him. By a gracious mission from the Father, by simple and clear instructions, by encouraging representations of God's paternal love and pity, by winning examples of the transcendent beauty of goodness, and, most of all, by that grand consummation, DEATH, by that exhibition of the curse of sin, in which Jesus was made a curse for it, by that compassion of the Holy One, which flowed forth in every bleeding wound, by that voice for ever sounding through the world, "Father! Father! forgive them," Jesus has brought us nigh to God. Can it be thought enthusiasm to say, that there is no blessing, either in possession or in the range of possibility, to be compared with this? Does not reason itself declare, that all the harmonies of moral existence are broken, if the great, central, all-attracting Power, be not acknowledged and felt? Without God, — to every mind that has awaked to the consciousness of its nature, — without God, life is miserable; the world is dark; the universe is disrobed of its splendors; the intellectual tie to nature is broken; the charm of existence is dissolved; the great hope of being is lost; and the mind itself, like a star struck from its sphere, wanders through the infinite region of its conceptions, without attraction, tendency, destiny, or end. "Without God in the world"! — what a comprehensive and desolating sentence of

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of mercy in all the methods which sovereign wisdom saw fit to adopt, perhaps we shall include every material idea which the Scriptures give us of that important event." — *Evans*, p. 120, 14th Edition.

To the question, "In what way can the death of Christ be conceived to operate to the remission of sins?" Magee says, "The answer of the Christian is, I know not, nor does it concern me to know, *in what manner* the sacrifice of Christ is connected with the forgiveness of sins; it is enough that this is declared by God to be the medium through which my salvation is effected." — *Magee on the Atonement*, p. 29, American Edition.

exclusion is written in those few words! "Without God in the world!" It is to be without the presence of the Creator amidst his works, of the Father amidst his family, of the Being who has spread gladness and beauty all around us. It is to be without spiritual light, without any sure guidance or strong reliance, without any adequate object for our ever expanding love, without any sufficient consoler for our deepest sorrows, without any protector when the world joins against us, without any refuge when persecution pursues us to death, without any all-controlling principle, without the chief sanction of duty, without the great bond of existence. Oh! dark and fearful in spirit must we be, poor tremblers upon a bleak and desolate creation, deserted, despairing, miserable must we be, if the Power that controls the universe is not our friend, if God be nothing to us but a mighty and dread abstraction to which we never come near; if God be not "*our* God, and our exceeding great reward for ever"! This is the fearful doom that is reversed in the gospel of Christ. This is the fearful condition from which it was his great design to deliver us. For this end it was that he died, that he might bring us nigh to God. The blood of martyrdom is precious; but this was the blood of a holier sacrifice, of innocence pleading for guilt, "of a lamb without spot and without blemish, slain from the foundation of the world."

But we must pass to other topics, and the space that remains will oblige us to give them severally much less expansion in this brief statement.

III. In the third place, then, we say, that we believe in human depravity; and a very serious and saddening belief it is, too, that we hold on this point. We believe in the very great depravity of mankind, in the exceeding depravation of human nature. We believe that "the heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked." We believe all that is meant, when it is said of the world in the time of Noah, that "all the imaginations of men, and all the thoughts of their hearts were evil, and only evil continually." We believe all that Paul meant, when he said, speaking of the general character of the heathen world in his time, "There is none that is righteous, no, not one; there is none that understandeth, there is none that seeketh after God; they have all gone out of the way, there is none that doeth good, or is a doer of good, no, not one; with their tongues they use deceit, and the poison of

asps is under their lips; whose mouth is full of cursing and bitterness; and the way of peace have they not known, and there is no fear of God before their eyes." We believe that this was not intended to be taken without qualifications, for Paul, as we shall soon have occasion to observe, made qualifications. It was true in the general. But it is not the ancient heathen world alone, that we regard as filled with evil. We believe that the world now, taken in the mass, is a very, a *very* bad world; that the sinfulness of the world is dreadful and horrible to consider; that the nations ought to be covered with sackcloth and mourning for it; that they are filled with misery by it. Why, can any man look abroad upon the countless miseries inflicted by selfishness, dishonesty, slander, strife, war; upon the boundless woes of intemperance, libertinism, gambling, crime, — can any man look upon all this, with the thousand minor diversities and shadings of guilt, and guilty sorrow, and feel that he could write any less dreadful sentence against the world than Paul has written? Not believe in human depravity, great, general, dreadful depravity! — Why, a man must be a fool, nay, a stock or a stone, not to believe in it! He has no eyes, he has no senses, he has no perceptions, if he refuses to believe in it!

But let the reader of this exposition take with him these qualifications; for although it is popular, strangely popular, to speak extravagantly of human wickedness, we shall not endeavour to gain any man's good opinion by that means.

First, it is not the depravity of *nature*, in which we believe. Human nature, nature as it exists in the bosom of an infant, is nothing else but capability; capability of good as well as evil, though more likely from its exposures, to be evil than good. It is not the depravity, then, but the depravation of nature, in which we believe.

Secondly, it is not in the unlimited application of Paul's language, that we believe. When he said, "No, not one," he did not mean to say, without qualification, that there was not one good man in the world. He believed that there *were* good men. He did not mean to say, that there was not one good man in the *heathen* world; for he speaks in another place, of those, who, "not having the law, were a law to themselves, and by nature did those things which are written in the law." Paul meant, doubtless, to say, that the world is a very bad world, and in this we believe.

Neither, thirdly, do we believe, in what is technically called, "total depravity"; that is to say, a total and absolute destitution of every thing right, even in bad men. No such critical accuracy do we believe that the Apostle ever affected, or ever thought of affecting. A very bad child may sometimes love his parents, and be melted into great tenderness toward them; and so a mind estranged from God may sometimes tenderly feel his goodness.

Finally, we would not portray human wickedness without the deepest consideration and pity for it. Alas! how badly is man educated, how sadly is he deluded, how ignorant is he of himself, how little does he perceive the great love of God to him, which, if he were rightly taught to see it, might melt him into tenderness and penitence. Let us have some patience with human nature till it is less cruelly abused! Let us pity the sad and dark struggle that is passing in many hearts, between good and evil; and, though evil so often gains the ascendency, still let us pity, while we blame it; and while we speak to it in the solemn language of reprobation and warning, let us "tell these things," as Paul did, "even weeping."

IV. From this depraved condition, we believe, in the fourth place, that men are to be recovered, by a process which is termed, in the Scriptures, regeneration. We believe in regeneration, or the new birth. That is to say, we believe, not in all the ideas which men have annexed to those words, but in what we understand the sacred writers to mean by them. We believe that, "except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God"; that "he must be new created in Christ Jesus," that "old things must pass away and all things become new." We certainly think that these phrases applied with peculiar force to the condition of people, who were not only to be converted from their sins, but from the very forms of religion in which they had been brought up; and we know indeed that the phrase "new birth" did, according to the usage of language in those days, apply especially to the bare fact of proselytism. But we believe that men are still to be converted from their sins, and that this is a change of the most urgent necessity, and of the most unspeakable importance.

The application of this doctrine too, is nearly universal. Some, like Samuel of old, may have grown up to piety from their earliest childhood, and it may be hoped that the number

of such, through the means of more faithful education, is increasing. But we confess that we understand nothing of that romantic dream of the innocence of childhood. There are few children who do not need to be "converted," — from selfishness to disinterestedness, from the sullenness or violence of crossed passions to meekness and submission, from the dislike to the love of piety and pious exercises; from the habits of a sensual, to the efforts of a rational and spiritual nature. Childhood is, indeed, often pure, compared with what commonly follows, but still it needs a change. And that which does commonly follow is a character which needs to be essentially changed, in order to prepare the soul for happiness and heaven.

Now there is usually a time in the life of every devoted Christian when this change commences. We say not, a moment; for it is impossible so to date moral experiences. But there is a time, when the work is resolutely begun. Begun, we say; for it cannot in any brief space be completed. How soon it may be so far completed, as to entitle its subject to hope for future happiness, it is neither easy, nor material, to say. But to aver that it may be done in a moment, is a doctrine of which it is difficult to say whether it is, in our view, more unscriptural, extravagant, or dangerous.

With such qualifications and guards, authorized by the laws of sound criticism, we believe in regeneration, and we believe that the spirit of God is offered to aid, in this great work, the weakness of human endeavour.

V. We believe, too, in the fifth place, in the doctrine of election. That is to say, again, we believe in what the Scriptures, as we understand them, mean by that word.

The time has been, when, not the intrinsic importance of this doctrine, but the stress laid upon it, would have required that we should give it considerable space in this summary review. Our good old Arminian fathers fought with it for many a weary day. It was the great stumblingblock in the way of the last generation. And, during our time, it has been held, firmly and by many hands, in its place, as one of the essential foundations of faith. But, within a few years past, it has come to be almost entirely overlooked; many preachers have almost ceased to direct attention to it; and many hearers are left to wonder what has become of it, and why it ever occupied a situation so conspicuous. Would that the history of it might be a lesson!

The truth is, that the doctrine of election is a matter either of scholastic subtilty or of presumptuous curiosity, with which, as we apprehend, we have but very little to do. Secret things belong to God. We believe in what the Bible teaches of God's infinite and eternal foreknowledge. We believe that, of all the events and actions, which take place in the universe of worlds, and the eternal succession of ages, there is not one, not the minutest, which God did not for ever foresee, with all the distinctness of immediate vision. It is a sublime truth. But it is a truth, which the moment we undertake to analyze and apply, we are confounded in ignorance, and lost in wonder. We believe, but we would take care that we do not presumptuously believe. We believe in election, not in selection. We believe in foreknowledge, not in fate. We believe in the boundless wisdom of God, but not less in the weakness of our own comprehension. We believe that his thoughts are not as our thoughts, and that his ways are not as our ways, and his counsels are not as our counsels, and his decrees are not as our decrees. For as the heavens are high above the earth, so is he above the reach of our frail and finite understanding.

VI. In the sixth place, we believe in a future state of rewards and punishments. We believe that sin must for ever produce misery, and that holiness must for ever produce happiness. We believe that there is good for the good, and evil for the evil, and that these are to be dispensed exactly in proportion to the degree in which the good or the evil qualities prevail.

The language of Scripture, and all the language of Scripture on this solemn subject, we have no hesitation about using, in the sense in which it was originally meant to be understood. But there has been that attempt to give definiteness to the indefinite language of the Bible on this subject, to measure the precise extent of those words which spread the vastness of the unknown futurity before us; and with this system of artificial criticism, the popular ignorance of Oriental figures and metaphors has so combined to fix a specific meaning on the phraseology in question, that it is difficult to use it without constant explanation. "Life everlasting," and "everlasting fire"; the mansions of rest, and the worm that never dieth, are phrases fraught with a just and reasonable, but, at the same time, vast and indefinite import. They are too obviously fig-

urative to permit us to found definite and literal statements upon them. And it is especially true of those figures and phrases that are used to describe future misery, that there is not one which is not also used in the Bible to describe things earthly, limited, and temporary.

So confident in their opinions are men made by education and the current belief, that they can scarcely think it possible that the words of Scripture should have any other meaning than that which they assign to them. And they are ready, and actually feel as if they had a right, to ask those who differ from them to give up the Bible altogether. Nay, they go so far sometimes, as to aver, in the honesty and blindness of their prejudices, that their opponents have given up the Bible, and have given up all thoughts of trying the questions at issue by that standard. We have an equal right certainly to return the exhortation and to retort the charge. At any rate, we can accept neither. We believe in the Scriptures, as heartily as any others, and, as we think, more justly. We believe in all that they teach on this subject, and in all they teach on any subject.

We believe, then, in a heaven and a hell. We believe that there is more to be feared hereafter than any man ever feared, and more to be hoped than any man ever hoped. We believe that heaven is more glorious, and that hell is more dreadful, than any man ever conceived. We believe that the consequences both in this world and another, — that the consequences to every man, of any evil habits he forms, whether of feeling or action, run far beyond his most fearful anticipations. Are mankind yet so gross in their conceptions, that outward images convey the most transporting ideas they have of happiness, and the most tremendous ideas they have of misery? Is a celestial city all that they understand by heaven? Let them know that there is a heaven of the mind, a heaven of tried and confirmed virtue, a heaven of holy contemplation, so rapturous, that all ideas of place are transcended, are almost forgotten in its ecstasy. Is a world of elemental fires and bodily torments, all that they understand by hell? Let them consider, that a hell of the mind, the hell of an inwardly gnawing and burning conscience, the hell of remorse and mental agony, may be more horrible, than fire, and brimstone, and the blackness of darkness for ever! Yes, the crushing mountains, the folding darkness, the consuming fire might be welcomed, if they could bury, or hide, or sear the guilty and

agonized passions, which, while they live, must for ever and for ever burn, and blacken, and blast the soul, — which, while they live, must for ever and for ever crush it down to untold and unutterable misery.

VII. Once more, and finally; we believe in the supreme and all-absorbing importance of religion.

There is nothing more astonishing to us, than the freedom of language which we sometimes hear used, on this subject; the bold and confident tone with which it is said that there is no religion among us, nothing but flimsy and fine sentiment, passing under the name of religion. We are ready to ask, what *is* religion in the hearts of men, what are its sources and fountains, when they can so easily deny it to the hearts of others? We are inclined to use no severity of retort, on this affecting theme, else the observation of life might furnish us with some trying questions for the uncharitable to consider. But we will only express the simple astonishment we feel at such treatment. We will only say again, and say it more in wonder than in anger, what must religion be in others, what can be its kindness, and tenderness, and peace, and preciousness, when they are so ready to rise up from its blessed affections, to the denial of its existence in the hearts of their brethren?

We repeat, then, that we believe in the supreme and all-absorbing importance of religion. "What shall it profit a man, if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" is to us the most undeniable of all arguments; "What shall I do to be saved?" the most reasonable and momentous of all questions; "God be merciful to me, a sinner!" the most affecting of all prayers. The soul's concern is the great concern. The interests of experimental, vital, practical religion are the great interests of our being. No language can be too strong, — no language can be strong enough, to give them due expression. No anxiety is too deep, no care too heedful, no effort too earnest, no prayer too importunate, to be bestowed upon this almost infinite concern of the soul's purification, piety, virtue, and welfare. No labor of life should be undertaken, no journey pursued, no business transacted, no pleasure enjoyed, no activity employed, no rest indulged in, without ultimate reference to that great end of our being. Without it, life has no sufficient object, and death has no hope, and eternity no promise.

What more shall we say? Look at it, — look at this inward being, and say — what is it? Formed by the Almighty hand, and therefore formed for some purpose; built up in its proportions, fashioned in every part, by infinite skill; an emanation, breathed from the spirit of God, — say, what is it? Its nature, its necessity, its design, its destiny, — what is it? So formed it is, so builded, so fashioned, so exactly balanced, and so exquisitely touched in every part, that sin introduced into it, is the direst misery; that every unholy thought falls upon it as a drop of poison; that every guilty desire, breathing upon every delicate part and fibre of the soul, is the plague-spot of evil, the blight of death. Made, then, is it for virtue, not for sin, — oh! not for sin, for that is death; but made for virtue, for purity, as its end, its rest, its bliss; made thus by God Almighty.

Thou canst not alter it. Go, and bid the mountain walls sink down to the level of the valleys; go and stand upon the seashore and turn back its swelling waves; or stretch forth thy hand, and hold the stars in their courses: but not more vain shall be thy power to change them, than it is to change one of the laws of thy nature. *Then thou must be virtuous.* As true it is, as if the whole universe spoke in one voice, *thou must be virtuous.* If thou art a sinner, thou "must be born again." If thou art tempted, thou must resist. If thou hast guilty passions, thou must deny them. If thou art a bad man, thou must be a good man.

There is the law. It is not our law; it is not our voice that speaks. It is the law of God Almighty; it is the voice of God that speaks, — speaks through every nerve and fibre, through every power and element of that moral constitution which he has given. It is the voice, not of an arbitrary will, nor of some stern and impracticable law, that is now abrogated. For the *grace* of God, that hath appeared to all men, teaches, that, denying all ungodliness and every worldly lust, they must live soberly, and righteously, and godly in this present evil world. So let us live; and then this life, with all its momentous scenes, its moving experiences, and its precious interests, shall be but the beginning of the wonders, and glories, and joys of our existence. So let us live; and let us think this, that to live thus, is the great, urgent, instant, unutterable, all-absorbing concern of our life and of our being.

ART. II.—*The Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius Pamphilus, Bishop of Cesarea, in Palestine.* In Ten Books. Translated from the Original by the Rev. C. F. CRUSE, A. M., Assistant Professor in the University of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia: Rev. R. Davis & Brother. New York: Swords, Stanford, & Co. 1833. 8vo. pp. 439.

IN briefly discussing the question, as we promised,* of the degree of credit to which Eusebius is entitled as an historian, we shall endeavour to proceed with due impartiality and caution. We are aware of the very great difficulties which surround it, and of the impossibility, within the limits we have prescribed to ourselves, of doing the subject any sort of justice. But what we can we will attempt.

With a certain class of writers, it is well known, the authority of Eusebius is rated very low, and the attempt has been made to throw suspicion over his whole narrative, by the insinuation, that, having professedly suppressed the truth from motives of expediency in some instances, we have no certainty that he may not have allowed himself to violate it in others, since he that does the one proves himself capable of doing the other. And those who are disposed to think more favorably of him are pressed with the difficulty, that, while they are compelled by the laws of the understanding and common sense to reject some of his statements, as founded in misapprehension or error, they are accustomed to appeal to his testimony in other particulars as that of an unimpeachable witness. Now the inquiry occurs, Is this authorized? Is it a mode of proceeding which is justified by the received laws of evidence?

Before we enter on our discussion, however, we beg leave to offer a single preliminary remark. The importance of the writings of Eusebius considered as embodying testimony of the miraculous origin and truth of Christianity, we are inclined to think, is by some greatly overrated. Unquestionably, as we have said, we derive from him much information in regard to the progress of Christianity and the condition and writings of the earlier Christians, which it is exceedingly desirable to possess, and of the accuracy of which there can be no reasonable doubt. But we are not aware of a single fact forming part of the historical evidence of Christianity, and in strict-

* Christian Examiner for March, 1835, p. 100.

ness of speech necessary to establish its truth, which rests solely on the testimony of Eusebius, or the reality of which would be brought into doubt, were his credit for veracity as an historian completely destroyed. The rise of Christianity about the time at which it is reported to have originated; its speedy and wide diffusion; the dangers and sufferings to which its early converts were exposed; and the existence of several writings reputed to be the genuine productions of the Evangelists and Apostles, and which, as such, were generally read and commented on by Christians, as books containing an authentic record of their faith, and the repository of their religion, are facts the proof of which we do not derive from Eusebius. We derive it from public monuments, from the productions of a long and unbroken series of writers who lived before Eusebius, from Justin Martyr down to the end of the third century. Had his writings shared the fate of many others before and after his time, and been buried in oblivion, the Christian world would certainly have sustained a great loss, but the foundation of our faith would have remained firm as now.

We proceed to our main subject, the degree of respect to which Eusebius is entitled as a historian. He has been charged with negligence, suppression of the truth, deliberate fraud and forgery. The first of these charges we shall consider hereafter. The second is founded on two passages which occur in his "History," and "Book of the Martyrs of Palestine,"* in reference to which Gibbon has the following remarks. Speaking of the sufferings of the martyrs during the persecution under Diocletian, he says, "But I cannot determine what I ought to transcribe, till I am satisfied how much I ought to believe. The gravest of ecclesiastical historians, Eusebius himself, indirectly confesses, that he has related whatever might redound to the glory, and that he has suppressed all that would tend to the disgrace of religion. Such an acknowledgment will naturally excite a suspicion, that a writer who has so openly violated one of the fundamental laws of history, has not paid a very strict regard to the observance of the other." †

Nothing can be more disingenuous than this insinuation. We are aware that as much injury may be done by the sup-

* Hist. viii. c. 2. Mart. Palest. c. 12.

† Decline and Fall, c. xvi. Vol. II. p. 479. ed. Lond. 1821.

pression of truth, as by the utterance of falsehood. A writer may equally mislead in both ways. But we are by no means authorized to infer that a writer, who, for reasons he deems good and sound, avowedly passes over some incidents little to the credit of those of whom he is speaking, and tending in his view to weaken the effect of their example, is capable, as Gibbon would insinuate, of deliberately substituting fiction for fact. He may choose to write as a panegyrist, or, if he write with a moral purpose, may tell only so much of the truth as he may deem useful, and in so doing undoubtedly departs from the province of the mere historian. But if impartiality consists in saying every thing, good and bad, of characters and times brought under review, how many writers of narratives, historical or biographical, especially cotemporary narratives, we would ask, in the first place, will be found to exhibit it? And in the second place, we will venture to put the question, whether such impartiality, if that be the word, is, in all cases, desirable.

The biographer especially, we believe, is not considered as under obligation to divulge all the imperfections and foibles with which the habit of familiar and confidential intercourse, perchance, makes him acquainted in his subject. There are weaknesses, the memory of which may be allowed to perish when men are gone. The hand of friendship may be permitted to throw a veil over their imperfections; nor do the interests of virtue or humanity require or authorize us, in all cases, to "draw" their "frailties from their dread abode."

Let Eusebius have even-handed justice. Let it be remembered, that, when he utters the obnoxious language alluded to, he is writing cotemporary history, — always a task of great delicacy; that of the actors in the scenes he is describing many yet survived, and others had left friends and family connexions, whose feelings would be wounded by too great freedom of speech; that he wrote professedly with a moral purpose, with a design to recommend piety and virtue by dwelling on the lives and examples of the good and faithful, — and some apology, we think, will be found for his omissions. The silence he professes to observe concerning certain characters and transactions neither creditable to religion, nor to humanity, if not a virtue, will appear at least no crime, and is no impeachment of his historical veracity. Because he tells us that he shall not relate all he saw and heard, it by no means follows that he is entitled to no credit for what he does relate. He is

quite frank and open in the business. He states to us plainly on what principle he proceeds; he uses no disguise, and no artifice, a circumstance which tends more than any other to strengthen our conviction of his honesty.

To what, after all, do the confessions of the grave historian amount? He had brought down his narrative to the commencement of the fourth century, a period still fresh in his recollection, for he was then in middle age; and was now, probably, about twenty years after, or a little more, culling from his reminiscences such facts as he deemed most worthy of preservation. Never perhaps had the affairs of Christians been more prosperous than at the period referred to, under the four associated Emperors. Eusebius labors to find words to describe their happy condition.* They were found in court and camp; they held offices of the highest civil dignity about the person of their sovereign, were admitted among his confidential advisers, and became in some instances governors of provinces. Their numbers rapidly increased, each day brought fresh accessions to their ranks, and they filled all parts of the empire. Everywhere churches rose without opposition, and of a magnitude and splendor before unknown. The consequences were such as might have been anticipated. Prosperity brought with it temptations which were but too feebly resisted. Security and ease begat luxury; and pride, effeminacy, and corruption crept in apace. To "looseness and sloth," the effect, says Eusebius, of too much liberty, were added dissimulation, hypocrisy, envy, and strife, each assailing others with words as with darts, and multitudes proceeding to add impiety to impiety, living more like atheists than like Christians. Many of the clergy, neglecting the duties of their calling, became the fomenters of discord, and thought of little but the means of gratifying their pride, ambition, and other passions.

Such, according to the testimony of Eusebius, was the state of Christians, when they were overtaken by the "just judgments of God," and the storm of persecution swept with tremendous fury over their devoted heads. Diocletian, excited by the machinations of the cruel and ambitious Galerius Maximianus, issued several edicts, each more severe than the preceding, requiring that the sacred books of Christians

* Euseb. Hist. viii. 1.

should be delivered up to be burned, their bishops and teachers be thrown into prison, and finally, that all should be compelled, by the use of torture, to sacrifice to the Gods of the empire. It is not surprising that multitudes should have succumbed to the tempest. Many, we may suppose, beholding the high and palmy state of Christianity, had been allured into the fold, with very little attachment to the truth, and little disposition to submit to the self-denial of the Gospel. Many had been enervated by luxury; many were frail and timid, and would not be able to summon courage to endure death by torture.

And so it was. We saw, says Eusebius, with our own eyes, houses of worship thrown down from their foundation, and the Scriptures publicly burned in the market. We beheld pastors of churches concealing themselves, some in one place, and some in another, some being seized and made the sport of their enemies. He then adds, in one of the passages, for which he has been so severely censured by Gibbon and others as avowing a shameless contempt of "one of the fundamental laws of history"; "But it is not ours to describe the sorrowful calamities, which, in the end, befell them, seeing also we deem it unfit to transcribe a record of their mutual dissensions and follies before the persecution. Wherefore we have determined to say no more concerning them than is necessary to vindicate the divine judgments. Nor is it our purpose to mention those, who were shaken by persecution, or who made utter shipwreck of their salvation, or were, of their own accord, plunged into the watery abyss. We shall admit into this our universal history only those things, which may be profitable, first to ourselves, and then to those who shall come after us." He then proceeds to relate the sufferings of the martyrs in Phœnicia, Tyre, Egypt, Thebais, and other places.*

The other passage is very similar, and occurs in his description of the martyrs of Palestine during the same persecution. Here, as before, he is speaking especially of the pastors or presidents of the churches. He does not think proper, he says, to describe their unworthy conduct, their neglect of Christ's rational flock, the ambition of many of them, their rash and illegitimate ordinations, the schisms among the confessors themselves, and the disturbances occasioned by factious innovators. All this, he says, he thinks fit to pass over, as for-

* Hist. viii. 2.

eign to his purpose, and abhorrent to his feelings, to narrate it. "But," he adds, "whatever things are grave and of good report, according to the holy word, if there be any virtue and praise, these things I deem it most suitable to the history of the renowned martyrs to recount, and write, and commit to faithful ears; and I propose to adorn the conclusion of the whole account, with the peace afterwards sent down to us from above." *

Now, really, we see nothing in all this to authorize the sweeping insinuation of the historian of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. Eusebius very candidly tells us, that he shall not stop to present the melancholy and unedifying picture of the corruption and follies of Christians, and especially the pastors of the churches during the period of prosperity immediately preceding the persecution, or of the sad defection and baseness of many of them, when the hour of trial came. But does this prove him dishonest, or indifferent to truth? Because he has told us that he has not thought fit to relate all, are we to conclude, we repeat the question, that he is not to be trusted in what he does relate as having seen and heard it? Are we to set him down as the writer of a forged tale? Surely the premises are wholly insufficient to sustain so broad a conclusion; nor can we admit it, except on a principle, which would invalidate the authority of a great multitude of writings, as we have said, historical and biographical, which are now supposed, and with reason, to contain credible, though perhaps incomplete narratives of events, of which the authors were perfectly competent from personal observation to speak.

We have dwelt the longer on this point, because we think that the ungenerous sarcasm of Gibbon has produced in many minds an impression unfavorable to the reputation of Eusebius for historical veracity, which it requires but a slight examination of the real facts in the case to dissipate.

Again, the title to one of the chapters of the "Evangelical Preparation" † has been appealed to as evidence, that Eusebius was not averse to the use of "pious frauds," as they are called; in other words, that he was a "liar from principle." And, to be sure, the title, at first view, looks a little ominous; for it seems to tell us, that falsehood is to be sometimes em-

* Mart. Palest. c. 12. † Lib. xii. c. 31.

ployed by way of medicine to those who have need of it. It were to be wished that the old Christians, in common with some modern religionists, had less frequently dealt in "pious frauds." But if we read the chapter, a short one, to which the obnoxious title is prefixed, we find that it recognises simply the Platonic precept, that men are to be sometimes lured into the way of truth and virtue by the charms of fiction, as, to be benefited, they must be addressed in language adapted to their apprehension, and fitted to move and persuade. Hence we employ fable, and poetry, and parable, and numerous rhetorical embellishments; and some of these, as it is rightly observed, occur in the sacred writings. They contain appeals to the imagination, and do not disclaim the use of poetical ornaments, and figures of speech. Speaking in accordance with human apprehensions, they introduce God, as angry, jealous, grieved, and repenting, and subject to various perturbations, which can in reality have place only in the breasts of frail and finite beings. But what has all this to do with Eusebius's historical veracity? He is not talking of the laws of historical composition, but of the principles of moral suasion, and the mode in which truth may be made to descend and dwell in the heart.

Eusebius has not escaped the accusation of forgery, but the charge is certainly not sustained. It relates to the celebrated passage contained in our present copies of the Jewish historian, Josephus, recognising the miracles, death, and resurrection of Jesus.* That the passage is not genuine we admit. The known views and character of Josephus are sufficient to render it suspected. Then it is not quoted by any of the Fathers who wrote before the time of Eusebius; though some of them, as Justin Martyr, had controversies with the Jews, and others, as Clement of Alexandria and Origen, in their defences of Christianity, must have found it much to their purpose to adduce it, and could not have been ignorant of it, had it existed in the manuscripts of Josephus, then in common use. Origen especially, would have found his account in quoting it in his answer to Celsus, and has referred to other passages of the same writer much less in point. Photius, a writer of the ninth century, does not appear to have read it in his copies of Josephus; though Jerome and others, who lived before his

* Lib. xviii. c. 3. § 3.

day, but subsequently to the time of Eusebius, express no doubt of its genuineness.

But, admitting its spuriousness, as we do freely, what evidence have we that it was a fabrication of Eusebius? Not one particle. The only suspicious circumstance is, that he first quotes it. But might it not have existed in the copy, or copies of Josephus, in his possession? The seventy-five years and more, which had elapsed since Origen wrote, afforded surely ample time for its introduction; and Eusebius, who was not accustomed to exercise the utmost critical sagacity, stumbling upon it, might very honestly have adduced it, without instituting any inquiry into its genuineness.

Le Clerc has admitted into his "Bibliothèque" a dissertation,* the object of which is to show that the Christian historian was capable of the fabrication, and that there is nothing improbable in the supposition that he was guilty of it; for, as the writer shows, he has, in other places, quoted Josephus inaccurately, and sometimes perverted his meaning. This proves culpable negligence, but is hardly sufficient to establish the probability of an impudent forgery. Le Clerc's own opinion seems to have leaned to that of the author of the dissertation;† but still it might be, he says, that the passage was fabricated by some other person. That it was so, is far more probable, in our judgment, than that the historian was guilty of the offence.

These are the heaviest charges preferred against Eusebius as an historian. They are very serious ones to be sure; none could be more so. But the evidence adduced in their support, as we have seen, fails. They have never been established, and, we are persuaded, cannot be. However numerous and grave may be Eusebius's faults as a writer, we are confident that great injustice is done him, when he is accused of a deliberate and wilful violation of truth; much more, of palpable forgery.

Having disposed of these charges, we are prepared to go into an examination of Eusebius's real merits and defects as an historian. Our inquiries will naturally be directed to two points; first, the value of his materials, in other words, the sources whence he drew; and, secondly, his discretion, skill, and fidelity in the use of them.

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* Anc. et Mod., T. vii. p. 237. † Ibid. T. xvi. p. 95.

In judging of his materials we must adopt some principle of classification, and we have not found it easy to fix on one altogether satisfactory. After revolving in our minds several methods, we have, not however without long hesitation, come to the conclusion, that the following, though not perhaps altogether philosophical, may be as convenient as any. First, we shall distribute the documents used by the historian, as authorities, into two general divisions, the former embracing those of greater antiquity than the age of Eusebius himself, the latter those belonging to his own age. The former will be again subdivided into such as are still extant, and of the value of which, as sources of history, we are in some measure competent to judge; and such as have either perished by the injuries of time, or of which fragments only have been preserved by different writers, or by Eusebius alone.

And first, of the latter subdivision. This embraces documents employed by Eusebius, but of which nothing or only fragments now remain.

But before we treat of lost writings, we must say a few words of unwritten tradition, of which, it is obvious, Eusebius made no little use. In numerous instances he prefaces his relation with some such expressions as these,—"as it is said" or "reported,"—"as we have received from tradition,"—"according to ancient tradition,"—"as we have understood." We are not to infer, however, that by these and similar expressions, which abound in his history, he always means *oral* tradition. The contrary is evident. He sometimes speaks of tradition, as delivered in written documents or commentaries, which he proceeds in some instances to quote.

It is quite clear, however, that he often appeals to common and unwritten report, or to tradition for some time handed down orally, though afterwards recorded. Now two questions here present themselves, neither of which it is, at the present day, very easy to settle. First, to what respect is such tradition in reality entitled; and, secondly, what reliance did Eusebius himself place upon it? In regard to the first, it would be rash to affirm that common or traditionary report is, in all cases, to be rejected, as wholly unworthy of attention. It probably has, in most instances, some foundation, however slight, in fact. At the same time, it is to be received with great caution. We are required to sift it diligently, and we are allowed no inconsiderable freedom in lopping away such

parts, as bear apparent marks of exaggeration or addition, or which want the support of probability.

That Eusebius himself did not consider what he relates as matter of common report, to be entitled to implicit credit, seems to us very plain. He gives the tradition, and, as it would appear, leaves his readers to take it for what it is, in their opinion, worth. In sitting down to his work, he seems to have proceeded upon the principle recognised by Herodotus, the father of history. "I must relate things," says he, "as they are reported, but I am not obliged to believe all." * This circumstance we must keep in view in order rightly to estimate Eusebius's merits as an historian. It has not been sufficiently attended to, and his reputation has suffered in consequence. Thus, because his relations have sometimes the air of fable, it is hastily concluded that he is a writer entitled to no respect. The inference is unsound, and does him great injustice. He has recorded traditions bearing various marks of probability or improbability; but he avowedly gives them as traditions, and we must receive them for what they are worth. Some of them he evidently regarded as suspicious. He has been perfectly honest. When he had authorities which he thought could be relied on, he has given them; when they were wanting, he has given us fair notice, that his statements are founded only on common or ancient rumor.

The lost writings appealed to by him, or writings in their present form manifestly corrupt, or of doubtful genuineness, or of which only fragments have come down to us, are numerous. As fountains of history, they must have possessed various merit. Some of them appear to have been entitled to very little respect, and others to none at all. To the latter class we must refer his authorities for the reported correspondence between Abgarus and Jesus Christ, recorded in the first book of his "History," † with the accompanying narrative relating to the mission of Thaddeus. The letters are undoubtedly a forgery, though we readily acquit Eusebius of all participation in the fraud. The originals existed, as he tells us, in the Syriac language, in the archives of the city of Edessa, whence they were taken *by* or *for* him, for his language is ambiguous, and translated into Greek. This is all he says of their history, and we see no reason whatever to call in question his good

* Herodotus, Lib. vii. § 152. † C. 13.

faith. But he suffered himself to be egregiously duped. A document undoubtedly came to his hands purporting to have been drawn from the archives referred to, which he hastily received as ancient and authentic.

The forgery would give us little concern, were it not that so gross a blunder of Eusebius, at the very threshold, affects his character as an historian. If he had so little critical sagacity as to be imposed upon by so palpable and clumsy a fraud, it may be asked, What reliance can be placed on his judgment in any case? Does not the fact go to show a degree of carelessness and want of discrimination in the selection of his materials, which must materially impair our confidence in the credibility of his narrative in other instances? Undoubtedly it does to a certain extent. It tends to inspire distrust of his judgment, and places us under the necessity of subjecting his authorities to the test of rigid examination, when in our power. But this we are compelled to do, in case of most ancient, and but too many modern historians. In this respect Eusebius does not stand alone.

Whether the account of the sufferings of our Saviour reported to have been sent by Pilate to the Emperor Tiberius, and referred to by Justin Martyr, and by Tertullian, is to be classed with the abovementioned, in the rank of forgeries, or not, or had only an imaginary existence, it is not material to our purpose to inquire; as Eusebius, who seems never to have seen it, does little more than allude to it, and can hardly be said to have used it as an authority at all.

Among the authorities entitled to some, though to very little respect, we may place Papias, bishop of Hierapolis. Papias was a great collector of traditions; and whenever he met with a person, who had conversed with the Apostles and elders, was particular in his inquiries as to what they said,— "what Andrew, and what Peter said," what "Philip, or Thomas, or James, or John, or Matthew, and the other Apostles were wont to say," what "John the elder" said. He left a work in five books, apparently a sort of commentary on our Lord's discourses, or life, extant in Eusebius's time; but Eusebius himself, judging from his writings, pronounces him to have been a man of very small capacity, and says that he propagated several fabulous legends. Indeed, he seems to have been a person of unbounded credulity, utterly destitute of discrimination and judgment. He first gave currency

among Christians to the doctrine of Chiliasm, or the one thousand years' reign of Christ on earth, with his saints, in the enjoyment of corporeal delights, which Irenæus and others, having regard to the "antiquity of the man," adopted and defended, but to which the mighty arm of Origen Adamantius finally gave a death blow. He was the reporter, too, of the tradition, which he ascribes to John "the elder," and which seems to have passed current with most of the ancient ecclesiastical writers, and may probably be true, in part, that Mark, who was the companion of Peter, and acted as his interpreter, wrote his Gospel according to his recollection of Peter's discourses. To the same author is traced the assertion that Matthew wrote in Hebrew, which seems to have been the primitive belief. Among the fabulous relations of Papias, Eusebius mentions one which was found in one of the false gospels, that according to the Hebrews.

Papias in peering about for traditions and old stories, of which he seems to have collected a goodly number, no doubt gleaned some truths; but he is evidently no authority for any thing, except as a witness as to what he saw and heard, and about which he could hardly be mistaken; nor did Eusebius regard him as entitled to much respect, the above narrative embracing the substance of the information which he professes to have derived from him, which he gives as *tradition.**

Among the Apostolic Fathers, we think that Eusebius has not appealed to Barnabas, Clement of Rome, or Hermas, as an authority. He has given two extracts from the Epistles of Ignatius of Antioch, one relating to his journey from Syria to Rome, under a guard of soldiers, the other to a reported conversation of Christ with Peter after the resurrection, not recorded in our present Gospels, and obtained, as Eusebius says, he knew not whence, but which, as Jerome informs us, was found in the Gospel according to the Hebrews. Two brief extracts follow from a letter of Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, in which mention is made of the Epistles of Ignatius as sent to him, but in which no more important information is contained.†

He also gives a short extract from Quadratus, the Apologist, the first, as it is said, who presented a written apology for Christianity to a Roman Emperor. Quadratus flourished a

* Lib. iii. c. 39. † Lib. iii. c. 36.

little after the year 120, and, according to Eusebius, presented his Apology in 126. In the extract alluded to, he speaks of the miracles of Jesus, and asserts that some of those raised from the dead by him, survived to his own times.*

These, we believe, are all the Christian writings, to which Eusebius has appealed as sources of history, before the time of Justin Martyr, that is, till near the middle of the second century; and the short fragments to which we have alluded constitute all that remains of those writings in a form entitled to be regarded as genuine.

In pursuing our design of presenting a view of the lost works, or works of which a few fragments only are extant, appealed to by Eusebius as authorities, for a hundred or hundred and twenty-five years after the date just mentioned, that is, till his own times, our limits will allow us to do little more than give a bare enumeration of the names and titles of documents, and the authors to whom they are attributed. From this enumeration, however, the intelligent reader will be able to form some tolerably accurate judgment of the worth of the materials included in it, without any comments of our own.

Authorities, such as they are, begin, from about the middle of the second century, to multiply. Among them, we may mention Hegesippus, a converted Jew, who flourished about the year 170, and wrote five books of Ecclesiastical Memoirs, of which we have now only some fragments preserved by Eusebius, and a very short one quoted by Photius at second hand. Eusebius speaks of him with great respect, though he seems to have been a rude and incoherent writer, and the judgment of the Christian world concerning him, has been generally unfavorable.†

For some traditions, respecting the early affairs of Christians,

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* Lib. iv. c. 3.

† Kestner, in a dissertation inserted in his treatise "De Eusebii Auctoritate et Fide Diplomaticâ," Gott. 1816, has attempted a defence of the historical fidelity of Hegesippus, we do not think, with entire success, against what he calls the unjust and perverse judgments, pronounced concerning him. Moeller, it seems, had called him a dealer in fables, and a most futile trifler, rather than an historian, and Strothe had said, that he is so incoherent, that "you would think you were reading the meditations of a shoemaker in the language of a Scythian." The specimens of his performance, given by Eusebius, certainly do not tend to inspire any very deep regret for its loss. See Euseb. Hist. ii. 23; iii. 16, 20, 32; iv. 8, 22.

he refers as authority to a lost work (the "Hypotyposes" or "Institutions") of Clement of Alexandria, who lived near the end of the second century, good authority for the fact that such traditions existed in his day, but of course none at all for their truth. He gleaned a little too from his work against Heresies.

Some facts in regard to the time of keeping Easter by the churches of Asia, and incidental notices of some of the Apostles and other Christians of note, particularly the places where they were said to have been buried, are related on the authority of Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, and cotemporary with Clement, a man apparently of no mean capacity, a part of whose letter to Victor, bishop of Rome, the historian has preserved. For some of the facts alluded to, the testimony of the letter is of the very best description. It was called forth by the famous controversy concerning the proper time of keeping Easter. Eusebius appears to have had before him letters of Victor himself, written on the occasion, excommunicating the churches of Asia, the Synodical Letters of the bishops assembled in Palestine, Pontus, and some other places, a private letter of Bacchyllus of Corinth, and, as he says, of "many others." * He gives an extract from one of Irenæus, bishop of Lyons in Gaul, apparently synodical, and containing some interesting remarks relating to the conduct and character of Polycarp, with whom Irenæus was acquainted in his youth. Some other lost pieces of his were in possession of Eusebius, as also a letter of the martyrs of Lyons to Eleutherus of Rome, partly relating to Irenæus, and the celebrated letter of the churches of Lyons and Vienna, concerning their martyrs, addressed to the churches of Asia and Phrygia, from which he has given very copious extracts.† In fact we suspect that he has preserved it nearly entire. On the subject of the martyrs who had suffered before this time at Pergamus, as Carpus, Papulus, and Agathonica, he refers to their acts and monuments as still extant in his time.‡

In reference to the planting of the Corinthian church by Paul and Peter, their martyrdom at Rome, their sepulchres there, and that of Philip at Hierapolis, he quotes from a letter of Dionysius of Corinth, and from a book of Caius against Proclus, extant in his time.§ Caius, too, is his authority in part

* Lib. v. c. 23, 24. † Lib. v. c. 1, 2, 3. ‡ Lib. iv. c. 15.
§ Lib. ii. c. 25; Lib. iii. c. 28, 31.

for what he says of Cerinthus. He flourished at the beginning of the third century, and is called by Eusebius an "ecclesiastical man"; but of his history little is known. Dionysius wrote in the latter part of the second century. Besides the letter alluded to, Eusebius mentions some others of his as extant, from which he gleans a few facts.*

In his notice of Montanus and the Cataphrygians, a sect of the second century, he quotes from Apollonius, an "ecclesiastical writer," as he styles him; † from an author whose name, if known to him, he has not divulged; ‡ and from Serapion, bishop of Antioch, who also wrote a book to prove the Gospel according to Peter a forgery, from which Eusebius has furnished an extract.‖

His account of Artemon, who lived in the second century, and who maintained that the doctrine of Christ's simple humanity was an article of the primitive faith, he professes to take from an anonymous writer, who attempted a confutation of his heresy, of course a suspicious authority.§ In the case of Paul of Samosata, who was of the same school, his principal authority appears to have been the Letter of the Council of Antioch, of which he inserts a part, if not the whole. He alludes also to a discussion between Paul and Malchion, minutes of which, taken by notaries at the time, were extant in his day.¶

In his account of Novatus, the heretic and "first anti-pope," about the middle of the third century, he quotes from a letter of his rival and enemy, Cornelius, bishop of Rome, who is his principal authority, though, however, he appeals to letters of Cyprian and "the bishops with him," and the decrees of the council which condemned the heresiarch. The letter of Cornelius is addressed to Fabius of Antioch.**

For some facts relating to the final expulsion of the Jews from Jerusalem, he relies on the authority of Aristo of Pella.†† He gives Apollinaris of Hierapolis as his principal authority in the case of the fulminating legion, who, it seems, was mistaken as to the origin of the epithet, for the legion bore it before the occurrence of the reputed miraculous shower.‡‡ He cites let-

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* Lib. iv. c. 23. † Lib. v. c. 18. ‡ Lib. v. c. 16.
‖ Lib. v. c. 19; Lib. vi. c. 12. § Lib. v. c. 28.
¶ Lib. vii. 29, 30. ** Lib. vi. c. 43. †† Lib. iv. c. 6.
‡‡ Lib. v. c. 5.

ters of Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, the friend and admirer of Origen, as authority for some cotemporary transactions.* Upon the discrepancies between the genealogies of Matthew and Luke, he quotes from a letter of Julius Africanus, the chronologist, to Aristides.† He gives an extract from the Paschal Canons of Anatolius of Laodicea, a man of eminence in his day, and who appears to have possessed no ordinary share of ancient and particularly Jewish learning.‡ One of his references is to Agrippa Castor, who wrote against Basilides, in the former part of the second century.§ A quotation is given from the Apology of Melito of Sardis, late in the same century, relating to the persecution which Christians underwent in his time, therefore a cotemporary authority, and another from a different work of his, containing a catalogue of the books of the Old Testament.¶ For the suicide of Pilate he refers, as authority, to the Greek writers of the Olympiads.** He has quoted from a book of Rhodon against Marcion, A. D. 190,†† and from Porphyry's books against the Christians.‡‡

In his sixth and seventh books, Eusebius has made great use of the epistolary writings of Dionysius, called the Great, bishop of Alexandria. In his preface to his seventh book, he acknowledges his very great obligations to him; he says, that Dionysius shall compose the book with him in his own words, relating the occurrences of his times in the letters he has left. Dionysius was an honest man, and reputed to be learned and eloquent. He mingled much in the affairs of Christians of his time, A. D. 247, and wrote of what he had seen and heard, and a "great part" of which he was. His authority, allowing for the ordinary weaknesses and imperfections of human nature, is entitled to great respect.

Such are the documents before the time of Eusebius, and expressly named by him as authorities, which have now wholly or in part perished, and of many of which we have only portions preserved by him. To these we must add the productions appealed to by him, which have entirely, or in a great measure, survived the injuries of time; as the Epistle of the Church of Smyrna in relation to the martyrdom of Polycarp and others, if our present copies be genuine, — a piece which exhibits some marks of credulity in the writers, — the produc-

* Lib. vi. c. 11, 14, 19. † i. 2. ‡ vii. 32. § iv. 7.
¶ Lib. iv. c. 26. ** ii. 7. †† v. 13. ‡‡ vi. 19.

tions extant of Josephus, Philo, Justin Martyr, Clement the Alexandrian, Tatian, Irenæus, Tertullian, and Origen, and two or three imperial rescripts or letters. He derived assistance, no doubt, from other sources. He speaks of the collection of letters in the library of Ælia, which furnished him with materials,* and he drew largely, as we have said, from tradition. He has mentioned many writers not included in our enumeration, because he does not use them as authorities. We believe that our catalogue is tolerably complete of such as he has appealed to by name as sources of history. He often, however, omits to name his authorities, either from ignorance, carelessness, or perhaps because the general consent of writers seemed to render specification unnecessary.

We have thus completed our first division. The second need not long detain us. In the preface to his eighth book, Eusebius informs us, that he is about to relate events which happened in his own times. Of his ten books, then, he devotes three to contemporaneous history. He professes to speak of what he saw and knew, not always naming documents or authorities, yet often, especially near the close, appealing to letters and edicts of the Emperors, several of which he has preserved entire. It must be admitted, that no man of his times had better means than he of becoming acquainted with the general affairs of Christians; though in estimating the merit of this part of his narrative, we must not forget the difficulty of arriving at truth from the reports, often inaccurate, partial, and colored, of contemporaries, subject, as their minds must be, to the disturbing influence of human passions, partiality, or prejudices.

From this slight survey of the fountains to which Eusebius had access, it is obvious that his materials were, as we have said, of very various merit; some being of the very best kind, others, to say the least, very suspicious, and some utterly without value. He had, at times, clear lights to direct him on the road; at others, he was compelled to thread his way amid surrounding darkness. Whatever skill and industry he might have brought to his task, such was the paucity of his materials in some instances, and their doubtful worth in others, that his work must necessarily have failed of gratifying our desire of full and accurate information concerning the times of which he wrote.

* Lib. vi. 20.

We do not pretend to assert, that he was always thorough in his researches, or had recourse, in all instances, to the best sources of information. Yet he sometimes discriminates, and manifests some solicitude, certainly, about the worth of the documents used by him. He frequently notes the time when, and the authors by whom, they were written. Examples might be given in abundance, but the enumeration would be tedious.* In his fifth book, however,† there occurs a statement which, in justice to him, we cannot pass over, for it shows that he was not utterly careless and indifferent about his authorities. Thus, after mentioning some writings, of which the authors and their times were known, he proceeds to say that many more pieces had come to his hands, the authorship and date of which he had no means of ascertaining, and therefore, he observes, he could not make use of them nor quote them. He sometimes, too, assigns reasons, historical and critical, for rejecting certain writings, which fall under his notice, of which we may mention as an example, the Gospels of Peter, Thomas, and others, and the Acts of Andrew, and John, and others of the Apostles, and some writings attributed to Clement of Rome.‡

At the same time, it cannot be denied, that he was often too negligent in regard to his authorities, and reposed faith in writings which the critical sagacity of subsequent times has rejected as forged or worthless; of which the reputed correspondence of Jesus Christ and king Abgarus, already mentioned, is the most memorable, though not the only example.

He seems to make a writer's orthodoxy a voucher for his historical veracity, than which no principle can be more absurd, as all the world knows.§

He appears to think the fact, that a writer was a heathen, sufficient of itself to set aside his testimony, provided it contradicted the statement or opinion of a Christian writer, the latter being assumed, *à priori*, to be a lover of truth, and the former not; another false principle of historical composition.‖

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* He is sometimes, however, loose and inaccurate, and occasionally gives contradictory statements, of which we have an example in his account of the time of Hegesippus. Comp. Lib. iv. c. 8, and Ib. c. 21, 22.

† c. 27.
‡ Lib. iii. c. 25, 38.
§ Lib. iii. c. 23.
‖ Lib. v. c. 5.

He thinks that the exaggerated praises of good men may be allowed to pass, on the principle that they nourish a spirit of piety. From the same principle, or from credulity and superstition, of both of which he had in his constitution no slight infusion, he treats us with several accounts of miracles, some of which are said by him to have occurred in his own time, though the more cautious faith or philosophy of modern times will hesitate to receive them upon the evidence adduced. But other historians, Christian and heathen, ancient and modern, have been guiltier than he is in this respect.

It must be admitted too, we fear, that Eusebius's prejudices often prevented him from applying to the best sources. Thus, in the accounts he has given of some heretics, he seems to have been satisfied with the materials which lay nearest at hand, that is, generally such as were furnished by the writings of their adversaries, and consequently of a suspicious character. Thus, for our knowledge of Novatus, as we have seen, he sends us to his competitor and foe, Cornelius, and takes no notice of Novatus's defence of himself. All he says of Artemon, as before observed, is taken from an anonymous writer against him; and then in regard to Paul of Samosata, as we have said, he is content to give the letter of the bishops who condemned him, which contains statements evidently colored and exaggerated, and bears clear marks of passion in the writers. In this mode of proceeding he was not singular, any more than in his occasional use of abusive expressions and epithets, such as "madman," dealer in "blasphemous lies," and others of a similiar character. It was too much the practice of the age, and has been of all succeeding times. The world is in this respect but little improved. Still something better ought to be expected of a historian, who, if he allow himself to listen only to the evidence, often strongly prejudiced, on one side, certainly forfeits the praise of impartiality and justice. The ancient heretics had no doubt something to say for themselves; but by a feeling like that which, we are sorry to say, appears to have animated Eusebius, their testimony has been suppressed. All the portraits of them we possess were shaded by the hand of their enemies, who seem to have been abundantly careful that none of the deformities of the original should be lost in the representation.

Of the use Eusebius has made of his materials we have left ourselves little room to speak. That his diligence in collecting,

though not always guided by discrimination and judgment, was greater than his care and skill in disposing of the stores he had accumulated, will be readily granted. When his documents were good he often read and transcribed them with too little attention to accuracy, and without troubling himself to select such portions only of their contents as were worth preserving. He commits numerous errors of names and dates; sometimes confounds persons and places;* and occasionally makes false quotations, or gives imperfect and garbled extracts, which are obscure and sometimes absolutely unintelligible without a knowledge of what precedes and follows in the original narration.† But much as we lament the obscurity and confusion introduced into his work by his careless manner of quotation, and his manifest blunders, we willingly acquit him of all corrupt design.

Still the veracity and honest intention of the historian remain unimpeached. He is not a skillful narrator. He has not fused down his materials into a mass of pure ore. He has left much rubbish which a more scrupulous judgment would have swept away. His work belongs to an age not imbued with the spirit of philosophical criticism, and it bears numerous marks of haste and inadvertency. As a production of art, it is full of blemishes. Yet we should be grateful for the many precious remains of antiquity it has saved from destruction, and the numerous traditions it has been the means of arresting in

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* For example, he refers to Josephus as asserting that Herod was banished to *Vienna* in Gaul. Josephus says that he was banished to *Lyons*. Compare Euseb. Lib. i. c. 11; Jos. Antiq. xviii. 7.

In his account of Herod Agrippa, which he professes to quote from Josephus, he makes Agrippa on looking up, see "an *angel* sitting over his head," if our present copies be correct; whereas Josephus says, "he saw an *owl* sitting on a certain rope over his head," which "he understood to be an angel or messenger of ill tidings." Compare Euseb. Lib. ii. c. 10; Jos. Antiq. xix. 8.

Again he makes Marcus Aurelius, who commanded the army containing the fulminating legion, at the time the miraculous shower is reported to have happened, brother to the Emperor Antonine; whereas they were one and the same person. Lib. v. c. 4.

† See, as an instance, his notice of the great slaughter of the Jews, which happened during the celebration of the Passover in the reign of Claudius. The slaughter occurred under circumstances favorable to the Jews. Those circumstances Eusebius, who had no love of the Jews, has suppressed. Compare Euseb. Lib. ii. c. 19; Jos. Antiq. xx. c. 5.

their passage to the gulf of oblivion. Eusebius should be read with judgment, that we may separate the wheat from the chaff. We believe that he meant to be faithful, but we cannot say of him, that he "left nothing to be forgiven." But his errors are those of human infirmity, and afford, in our opinion, no ground for those sweeping conclusions which would annihilate, at a blow, his historical credit. Against such conclusions we must beg leave to enter our humble, but sincere and earnest protest.

One word we must add on the use which is made of Eusebius, by those who would overturn the foundations of our faith. We are to distinguish between his *inferences* and his *facts*, between his *reasonings* and the *historical statements* on which they are founded. An error in the former does not necessarily imply the falsity of the latter. The fact may be correctly given, though the speculations to which it gives rise in the mind of the writer may be fanciful in the extreme. This distinction has not been attended to, and Eusebius consequently has been quoted as a witness against that faith, which it was the main purpose of his labors to establish.

We allude particularly to the appeal which has been made to some reasonings he has set down in his chapter on the Egyptian Therapeutæ. In one of the foulest productions of infidelity now in circulation among us,* we find the following statement in substance, advanced with great pomp, and, as the writer would have his readers believe (he writes for the unlearned), triumphantly proved. We have the testimony of Eusebius, says he, that the Egyptian Therapeutæ, or Therapeuts, as he calls them, described by Philo, were Christians, and the *ancient writings* of which, according to the assertion of the same author, they were in possession in his time, that is, soon after the period assigned for the death of Christ, were no other than our present Gospels and Epistles, which consequently existed before the Augustan age, and were the fabrica-

* Taylor's "Diegesis." We are almost ashamed, after the notice already taken of this work, in our Number for January last, again to refer to it. It is a work of unparalleled effrontery, containing from beginning to end a tissue of false statements and false reasoning, too absurd almost to deserve a serious reply. It can certainly impose only on the most shallow understandings. In charity for the author we must set it down for what it appears to be, the effusion of rage and insanity, rather than the offspring of a mind conscious of what it was doing.

tions of those Therapeutic monks. This is called the "demonstration of a certainty, than which history hath nothing more certain," founded on the "valid" *testimony* of Eusebius. With the numerous absurdities the statement involves, and which are too gross to impose on any but the most ignorant minds, we have now nothing to do. We are only concerned with the use which the writer, and others of the same stamp, make of what they imposingly call the *testimony* of Eusebius. The truth is, Eusebius affords, strictly speaking, no *testimony* at all in the case. He only indulges a train of reasoning, futile enough, to be sure, starting from some facts stated by Philo.

Philo, in his treatise on the "Contemplative Life," describes the Therapeutæ, a gloomy and ascetic sect, which existed in his time, and were found chiefly in retired situations in the vicinity of the Lake Mareotis, in Egypt. From this treatise Eusebius gives extracts, from which he deduces the inference, that these same Therapeutæ were Christian monks, who, as he supposed, had been converted to the faith of the cross, by the preaching of Mark, the Evangelist, who, according to an ancient tradition, first conveyed the Gospel to Egypt.* The inference, as the learned have abundantly shown, is wholly unfounded. The Therapeutæ were not Christians, nor could the writings in their possession have been Christian writings. But what then? We do not set aside the *testimony* of Eusebius, but only his *reasoning*, his *inference* from certain given facts. He does not pretend, in this instance, to be relating a matter of history, he attempts to argue, and he argues badly enough, and proves himself but a sorry logician. But neither does his reputation as a narrator, which is all we are anxious to defend, suffer, nor are the evidences for the genuineness and authenticity of the Christian Scriptures impaired in consequence.

Eusebius reasoned weakly on other occasions, and was, in fact, as we have said, but a poor critic. In regard to the case in question, however, we would observe, he is not quite so absurd, as the statement, which has called forth our present remarks, would seem to imply; for he says that the treatise of Philo, from which he quotes, was written "a long time after" his reputed journey to Rome in the time of Claudius. If so, Eusebius might very reasonably suppose that the writings of

* Lib. ii. c. 16, 17.

"*ancient men*," (he does not say *ancient writings* as the writer in question makes him say) by whom he supposed were meant the first Christian Apostles, were known in Egypt in his day; and the supposition, that the Therapeutæ described by him might have been acquainted with them, certainly involved no anachronism, nor was inconsistent with the views generally entertained of the origin of our present Gospels and Epistles.

The new version, the title of which stands at the head of the present article, is executed, we believe, so far as the sense is concerned, with a degree of fidelity to the original, highly creditable to the translator. Whatever may be his theological opinions, he has not suffered them often to interfere with his duty to his author. He has correctly rendered some passages of which the prejudices or ignorance of former translators led them to give a faulty version. Thus Hanmer* represents Pliny as saying, in his Letter to Trajan, a part of which Eusebius has quoted at second hand,† that the early Christians were accustomed to meet and "celebrate Christ as God," and Shorting has "singing hymns to Christ as unto God," instead of "as to *a* God," as Mr. Cruse gives it, and which is all the expression could mean in the mouth of a Roman.‡

* Meredith Hanmer, the author of the oldest English version of Eusebius. The Epistle Dedicatory to his first edition bears date the 15th of December, 1584. The translation went through five editions, the last of which was published in 1650. Nearly a century after the first edition of Hanmer (not "*more* than a century afterwards," as Mr. Cruse states) a new translation appeared, the second edition of which we have before us, published at London in 1709. The translator has suppressed his name, but is generally understood to have been T. Shorting. Parker's abridgment appeared afterwards.

† Eusebius quotes immediately from Tertullian. Lib. iii. c. 30, Hanmer; c. 33, Shorting.

‡ One word, however, of very frequent occurrence in Eusebius, Mr. Cruse, whether inadvertently or by design, we do not undertake to say, has, we believe, uniformly mistranslated — παροικία, *parish*, not *church*, as he has erroneously rendered it, the latter word having now acquired a technical signification entirely foreign from its primitive meaning. In one instance, he has rendered the word in its plural form, strangely enough, *places*. Eusebius says, at the commencement of his history, (Lib. i. c. 1.) that he shall speak of those who presided over the principal *parishes*. There is no reason why *places* should be substituted, as by Mr. Cruse, or *Provinces*, as by Christophorson and Hanmer, or *Sees*, as by Shorting, except a desire to get rid of the necessary inference, that the ancient bishops were simply Parochial bishops.

The present publication, however, is not a scholarlike performance. In breaking up some of Eusebius's long periods, the translator has occasionally made imperfect sentences. The first sentence, as it stands in the new translation, is fragmentary and ungrammatical. We think too that Mr. Cruse has not done wisely in omitting entirely the notes of former translators and editors, especially those of Valesius (De Valois), many of which are preserved by Shorting, and which we cannot agree with the present translator in pronouncing "mostly verbal criticisms," referring to "various readings of the Greek text," and "such as can have but little interest for the general reader." A judicious selection from them, to which others might have been added, would have greatly enhanced the value of the present publication. The want of notes, and of an index, which too is omitted, we esteem a capital defect in it; and this is fully sufficient, we think, to counterbalance all the advantages the version may possess over that of Shorting. The latter exhibits a specimen of good old idiomatic English; and the very air of quaintness and antiquity which is spread over it, we confess, does not displease us. Taken all in all, we must say, that we should have preferred a republication of Shorting's, with all its faults, which are certainly great, to the present translation. Yet we sincerely thank Mr. Cruse for what he has done. He is entitled to the praise of good intentions, and to the gratitude of the public for having presented, in an accessible form, an old and valued work, which was before to be found only in our public libraries, and a very few private collections.

ART. III. — *The Bridgewater Treatises on the Power, Wisdom, and Goodness of God, as manifested in the Creation. Treatise III. On Astronomy and General Physics.* By the Rev. W. WHEWELL. Philadelphia: Carey, Lea, & Blanchard. 1833. 12mo. pp. 284.

THE unceasing agency of the Creator throughout his material works is one of the most prominent doctrines of the Bible. It is early impressed on most readers of the sacred volume in consequence of its sublimely striking representations of the infinite presence, power, and majesty of the Most High.

The prayers and hymns of the sanctuary abound in phraseology of similar import. The hearts of worshippers respond to the language that leads their devotions. But we would ask if this impression of the Divine presence and agency is not, with very many, a vague sentiment rather than a clearly apprehended truth, a profound conviction of the understanding. We infer this to be the fact from the language we often hear respecting nature and its operations. *The Laws of Nature* is a phrase that falls from almost every tongue. Teachers of philosophy especially are in the habit of representing the Creator as having ordained certain permanent laws in the beginning, by which all the revolutions of the worlds, and all the processes and appearances of matter, take place. They seemingly speak of creation as a mighty machinery, which, once set in motion, continues to go on without any further impulse from the original contriver and mover. The text-books of youth on Natural Science, and a thousand books beside, are fraught with language conveying such an impression. The term "Laws of Nature" has been personified, indued with a life and a will. Indeed it has almost grown from a mere figure of speech to be an actual person, a very entity, even the Creator's conscious vicegerent, carrying on his works, while he might be away or inactive, almost as if the Omnipresent might be absent, the Omnipotent weary or delighting in rest.

We propose in the following article to show, that the Deity operates directly upon and through the material universe without the intervention of what philosophers call Laws,—that all the changes of nature proceed from the instantaneous impulses of his Almighty will. The subject is one of exceeding importance. It is of the highest practical tendency in respect to faith, filial love, and resignation towards the paternal Creator. And still further, it has a particular bearing on the probability and truth of the Miracles connected with our Religion.

In the first place, we must dispose of the often uttered and blindly used term, "Laws of Nature." Whence came it, and what does it mean? The word *law* was primarily applied to human conduct. It was prescribed to men by those in authority to do, or forbear to do, certain things. The language used on the occasion was denominated a law. The definition of the term is, a rule of action. All know that it is not the rule of action which causes action. The origin of conduct,

properly speaking, is the living energies seated in the constitution of man. The law indeed may furnish a motive to conduct, but it is that centre of the inner man, the will, which is the source of movement. From this primary use of the term, it was transferred, with a figurative application, to the works and operations of nature. One of the distinguishing characteristics of matter is regularity of appearance and of motion. Under given circumstances its elements always combine in a certain proportion, its particles or masses tend in a certain direction, for the accomplishment of some important end; just as if it possessed consciousness, and was obeying a mandate imposed by some superior power, to whom it felt constrained to submit. Hence matter was said to obey certain laws, or acted according to a rule, as man does; but it is evident, that it is not the rule that causes the action in the one case any more than in the other. For instance, an apple drops from its tree by a law of nature; all that is really meant is this, that matter of a due density, and undisturbed by any external force, uniformly tends toward the centre of the sphere to which it belongs, as if following a known rule previously prescribed. The term *gravitation* is often used as if it were a real property of matter, or an individual agent operating upon it. But gravitation is nothing but a word,—a word expressive of the fact that matter tends toward matter with a force proportionate to distance. This word does not explain the cause of the tendency or the ratio of force. To say that gravitation makes the apple fall or bodies tend toward each other, is, strictly speaking, the same as saying that a fall makes a fall and a tendency makes a tendency. Take another instance. By a law of nature water freezes at a specific temperature. All that the phrase really conveys is, that, on condition that a certain portion of caloric leaves the fluid, it becomes solid. The cause of the departure of caloric or of the consequent change is not in the least explained by the terms by which the phenomenon is expressed.

Let us suppose ourselves to have been born deaf and dumb, and moreover never to have been taught the use of language by sight. We will also suppose ourselves to possess acute perceptions, a proneness to reflection, and an ardent curiosity. We are placed in the midst of nature, with all the elements of a philosophic mind, by which we may observe, compare, and infer, with not a single word of language either to aid or to

mislead us. We perceive the apple drop. We may perhaps, like Newton, of ourselves infer, or it may be signified to us by others, that it is brought down by a power similiar to that which makes our feet cleave to the ground, the house press on its foundations, and which also keeps the earth from flying off from the sun. Now all that we shall perceive will be the event, together with its invariableness, the circumstances being the same, accompanied also with the reflection that it is of the same nature with certain other phenomena. The term *law* being unknown to us, we cannot impute the phenomenon to this fancied agency. The idea usually conveyed by this term could not possibly enter our minds, and we should be likely to refer directly to the Creator as the direct and constant cause of what we observed.

What then are the Laws of Nature, —those invisible agencies of the philosophers, which have seemed to turn the wheels and tend upon the springs and valves of the universal machine? They are nothing but empty names, which were originally adopted by a figure of speech for the sake of convenience. They are mere words which simply express the fact, that what we observed of things yesterday, we also observe to-day and are likely to observe to-morrow. Or, slightly to vary the definition, they are methods or rules, according to which the things of nature are done; and it is of course absurd to say, that it is methods or rules which do them.

How has an occasional sound from perishing lips prevented the divine and ever-speaking voice! How has a little language on paper been as a curtain of darkness hiding the all-surrounding and intimately present God!

But there are those who will readily grant the illusiveness of the afore-named phraseology, who nevertheless entertain a notion fully as unphilosophical and untrue as that. They will not allow the immediate and ceaseless agency of the Deity for which we contend. They say that in the beginning the Creator *willed* his works to start into action, and phenomena to be connected in an invariable order. This action has continued, this connexion has remained unbroken ever since, in consequence of this single original act of the Omnipotent will. Thus the worlds revolve and attract each other, and all the other operations and processes of matter take place. Let us see whether this opinion will bear the test of logical deduction. In the first place let it be remarked, that our ideas of

God are derived from the analogies of man. All will acknowledge this, we presume. Effects or changes in things are produced by man, by what he calls his power. The effects and changes in nature are imputed to God, hence we ascribe to him the attribute of power. By a similar process we ascribe to him wisdom and goodness, — extending all these attributes to infinity. So, when we speak of the will of the Deity, we liken him to ourselves. We indue him with a human faculty.

Now, what do we mean by will, or the act of willing? When we will any thing to be done, there is a desire of the mind, and an impulse from the mind. The desire without an impulse is not an act of the will. We will to walk, and there is an impulse upon our physical powers. We will to investigate some particular subject, and there is an application of the faculties in that direction. If any, however, are inclined to dispute our definition of will, or our description of its operations, they must at least acknowledge, that nothing is ever done by human beings without an impulse from the centre and source of power in the mind. Now when the Deity willed the masses and the particles of matter to assume certain forms and properties, and to move in certain directions, there must have proceeded an impulse from the power inherent in his nature.

Many seem to have very vague ideas on this point. They take the figurative Scripture as literally expressive of the truth. God created by his word; he spake and it was done. They have in view something like what would take place should we say to the chair, Come, or to the door, Open, and they should immediately put themselves in motion, without any exercise of our own proper strength to produce such an effect. So the Deity is supposed to have spoken or desired, without any impulsive power to bring to pass. But let it be repeated, that this is straying wide from the analogies on which all our conceptions of the Divine Being are based. It is assuming for a fact what has not the slightest shadow of evidence. All who make the least pretensions to rationality, therefore, must allow a divine impulse in the beginning to put the universe in operation. But we would proceed to inquire if a continued impulse is not necessary to continue the universe in operation. There is certainly no continued action from the will of human beings without a continued impulse of

a living agent. If it be said that we put a machine in motion, and it continues to move without any farther exercise of our own proper strength; we reply, that this is not a parallel case. The machine is made to operate by an active power inherent in matter,—gravitation, for instance, and this we affirm to be an impulse from a living agent, — even the Creator, which is the very point we are attempting to prove. The rule of analogy, therefore, and all the evidence that can be brought to bear on the subject, go to prove, that as impulse from the Divine mind was necessary in the beginning, so impulse from the same has been necessary ever since. Planets roll, suns diffuse their light, matter gravitates, vegetation springs, and all motion takes place, from that of the mightiest orb, to that of the minutest atom, in consequence of the direct and immediate agency of the infinite Creator.

It is difficult for us to realize that the phenomena of nature proceed from the immediate spirit, will, and power of God, because He is invisible. What cannot be seen by the physical eye, requires some exercise of faith to believe. We can realize the actions of men, because we imagine ouselves to behold the actors. But the difference between the infinite agent and finite ones, as it regards being seen, is not so great as it would at first appear. When we observe the human body and limbs, form and features, we do not behold the living agents themselves. It is the instruments of organized and animated earth they use, and not themselves, that meet our eyes. Let the soul suddenly leave an individual, the form and lineaments for a while may be unchanged, and to ordinary observation the same as when breathing with life; but our fellow being has gone for ever; and that which we called his person, and which for the first moment seemed unaltered, is now a corpse, a portion of the common dust. The only known agent is mind; and what mortal man has ever set his eyes upon the mind of man? It is most philosophically and certainly true, that the active beings who enliven the land with business, the active beings who have crowded the great world with its eventful history, were never by earthly vision seen. It is the spirit-moved matter which alone is perceptible, and not the spirit itself. Human agents are therefore as invisible as the Divinity. They are both indicated to be present by the actions proceeding from their impulses. If the moving of the human limbs convince

us that there is an unseen soul present and controlling them, so all the mighty movements and regular changes of creation should likewise convince us, that they as directly proceed from the energies of creation's unseen God. It is education and habit that make us slow to believe. Could we forget the use of language, so that the convenient term, *laws of nature*, would vanish out of mind; could we moreover forget that we had been accustomed from earliest infancy to the ordinary revolutions and processes of matter; or could we be placed at once with adult faculties in the midst of this visible scene of things, we should most undoubtedly realize that there is a mighty, invisible power moving, sustaining, and controlling all that should meet our wandering eyes.

With this view the sublime scriptural descriptions of the omnipresence and omnipotence of the Deity are not mere metaphor; they are but the earliest and poetic garb of philosophic and eternal truth. The clouds *are* His chariot, — they are rolled by the propulsion of the viewless energies they infold. And doth He not fly on the wings of the wind? Its swiftness and its strength are the effluence of His power. His pavilion round about Him are dark waters. The ocean that inwraps the earth, the floods that expand in the sky, are the dwelling of his might. With Him is terrible majesty. The Lord thundereth in the heavens; and the Highest giveth his voice. He shooteth out the arrows of His lightning, and flaming fires are his ministry. He toucheth the hills and they smoke. At his presence the mountains flow down, yea are overturned by their roots; and the earth trembleth and is dissolved. The heavens declare His glory. He covereth Himself with light as with a garment. The infinitude of stars is the robe of His omnipresence.

We would now advert to some important uses of the doctrine we have endeavoured to establish. It gives us a very distinct and satisfactory view of the manner in which the Creator continues to exercise a providence over his creatures. If the material creation were carried on by the agency of laws, or in consequence of one original act of the Infinite will, there would certainly be no such thing as an *immediate* superintending providence over our lives, as we are assured there is by revelation. For what would the Deity be but an idle being, or at least mostly so, in respect to the earth and all other worlds, and the creatures of flesh and sense

therein passing through their first stage of existence? Universal nature would indeed be but a machine. The hand omnipotent that formed it is withdrawn for ever, excepting that it returns on great occasions with a miraculous touch to remind us of its existence. "Our Father in Heaven" is but an unmeaning sound.

In what respects is a paternal providence manifested, according to Christian belief? Is it not in the appointment of the unforeseen vicissitudes of life, — the lot of health or sickness, prosperity or adversity? But these do most intimately depend on those changes in material things which take place according to an established mode of operation, or in obedience to those laws which are said to pervade and control the works of God. For instance, when we are brought to the brink of the grave by disease, do we not feel that our lives immediately depend on the will of the Giver? And when we recover, do we not acknowledge the hand of the Most Merciful? We say that the "Lord chasteneth whom He loveth." "Affliction cometh not forth of the dust." Yet we know that the disorder by which we sink, and the causes by which we rise, are as natural, as that the inanimate foliage should wither in the frost and put forth again in spring. If we are rich, and the flames consume or the tempest sweeps away our well-earned wealth, if of Christian heart, we believe that the all-wise Disposer designs that we should lose and be poor. With the Psalmist we might exclaim, "Fire and hail, snow and vapor, and stormy wind fulfil his word!" Nevertheless, in all these things there is nothing apparent but inanimate matter proceeding according to fixed methods of operation. Indeed, nothing ever happens to us through the physical world and our bodily constitution, which does not take place according to these methods or in obedience to what are called natural laws. Where then is the immediate providence over our lives, — a Father's unceasing care over his beloved children, unless these material instruments directly affecting us are within the immediate grasp and subject to the actual moving of the parental hand? Our argument proves, we think, that this is the truth. The volumes of Revelation and nature agree. The light of the Divine countenance is lifted upon us in philosophy as well as in the figurative Word. Well may it be said, that not a sparrow is

forgotten before God, or falleth to the ground without our Father. It is true that he numbereth and keepeth the very hairs of our heads. He is indeed the breathing of our life, the health of our countenance, — the giver of every good and perfect gift. In all that makes us happy, we cannot but realize a Father's immediate bounty, as much as if the blessing dropped from an opening hand in the skies. From the mightiest to the minutest of physical objects and operations there is a *present* consciousness and care. Not only the flying orbs of immensity, which vary not a hair from the path or a moment from the year appointed, but every particle that converges toward its respective centre is an argument for a providence, — a providence over all that breathe, from upright man with face toward heaven, to the organized atoms that mingle life with the very elements. This is indeed to be the Friend, the Father, the All-in-all of an enjoying creation. It is a different character from one, who created at first, and then left a machinery of laws coldly rolling and vibrating throughout his material works. With this view, it is not merely the heart uplifted to the sublime of devotion, but the understanding assenting to eternal truth, when we exclaim with the Apostle, "In Him we live and move and have our being; for of Him and through Him and to Him are all things."

We may now be permitted to make a practical appeal respecting our doctrine. It regards its use in the education of the young. We have intimated before that the text-books of students abound in the deceptive term, "Laws of Nature." The same phrase is ever on the lip of instruction. And how many teachers explain the phenomena of nature, and perform "beautiful experiments" on the affinities of matter, with scarcely an allusion to the Divine Author and Mover of all. Like the idols of the heathen, which at length diverted the worshipper from the divinities they represented, so also, only worse, both the teacher and the taught, have been withheld from the Only and True Power in nature by a convenient representative, — more unreal than the idolater's image, — by an unsubstantial word. Science seems to be pursued from mere curiosity, or to lift the learner to the reputable eminence of knowing, or to furnish the coarse utilities of work-day life and gain-getting hands. Some, perhaps, may have a vague notion of disciplining the faculties, but how very few

aspire to exalt and sanctify the soul by the aid of science. The beauty, grandeur, and gloriousness of creation are presented as a mere pastime to the vision, or a luxury to the taste of an epicurized intellect. How seldom recognised is the Spirit that expresses itself through these lines and lineaments. This should not be so. It would not be so, did all who instruct possess the true unction of their calling. No wonder that so many of our young men know not the truth and the delightfulness of piety. The necessary appliances are not made by the hands set apart to the work. Let the teacher of science feel, that he is not merely the expounder of mechanical and vital nature, but that he is also the teacher of Natural Religion, the interpreter of God. As much depends on him as on the pulpit or the theological chair. The teacher of science presents objects and phenomena to the senses; and, while sense and intellect are fastened on these unquestioned verities, he may take the heart by surprise, and burst forth in a strain which shall for ever associate the Creator with his works in the minds of his pupils.

We would moreover urge our views on the teacher in the Sunday school. Let not the more dependent minds here be distracted from the truth by a blinding and unexplained phraseology. With the opening spring many schools, interrupted by the inconveniences of winter, are again renewed. It is the favorite season of childhood, as if it found a living sympathy in the emblem of its own tender period. Of all the year, this is the most propitious time for making it feel the realities of the Divine presence and agency. The faithful teacher cannot but seize on the opportunity to impress his pupils with the perfections of the Creator. The little enjoyers need hardly be prompted to inquire what has produced the delightful change. Let them be taught aright. Discourse, if you please, of what is called cause and effect, of the revolving earth, the increasing warmth, and nourishing moisture, but speak not of these operations and elements as if they were nothing but a machine. Say not merely, "Our Father *made* them all," — putting the space of centuries between the filial soul and the paternal presence, — but rather say, he is *making*, is repeating what he has done for his children from creation until now. Let every object and every change in nature betoken the indwelling and ever-working and all-loving

Spirit; and the rain shall not drop, and the dew distil, on the tender herbage with a more vital and beautifying influence, than that of your instruction upon the tender and forth-putting heart; and God shall bless the "springing thereof." Thus shall Religion have its sweet and holy prime.

We intimated that the doctrine we have endeavoured to establish, had an important bearing on the miracles connected with our religion. We will now devote a brief space to this point. The Deist also is beguiled by this delusive phrase, "Laws of Nature." With him a figure of speech has become an agent; or, rather, creation is a machine put in motion by the Infinite Artist, and decreed to go on for ever without further interference. We hope to have proved to his candid mind, that the Laws of Nature, if any thing, are the immediate and ceaseless energies of nature's indwelling and ever-living Soul; that the boundless material machine is intimately and essentially connected with its Creator, and is acted upon every moment, in every mass and particle, by the all-diffusive power of the universal God. We believe that this agency is exercised in that chosen and particular manner, which will on the whole promote the highest possible good of his creatures. Now if his omniscient wisdom perceives that this highest possible good can best be effected by occasional deviations from his ordinary course, being essentially present to all matter, he can as well deviate from his general mode as proceed in it. Miracles are no disordering of a machinery impelled by its Maker to changeless rounds and vibrations. Miracles are integral portions of one infinite plan, the unbroken continuity of everlasting action. He who is directly pouring Jordan to its sea, is as able to stop it in its flow as to bear it onward. He could as well hush the winds and sink the billows to stillness at the prayer of the Saviour, as stir the elements to a tempest. The resurrection of Jesus was not more difficult to his power than stopping the currents of vitality at death. He could as well raise to life in the twinkling of an eye all that have breathed and died since Adam, as have returned them to the dust one by one through the long space of centuries.

Let the preceding view of the Creator be impressed on the Deistic unbeliever, and we cannot but think that he will have taken a considerable step toward a thorough conviction of the divine origin and miraculous circumstances of Christianity. It

is highly important, therefore, that this view should be clearly apprehended by all believers, and especially by all the teachers and defenders of our faith.

In view of the growing infidelity of the day, we regret that the error we have endeavoured to expose is so prevalent among sincere believers. They believe in the reality and sufficiency of laws, or at least in one original impulse from the Divine Will adequate to all subsequent order and action. But, this being the truth, what are the declarations concerning an immediate paternal Providence, which throng the sacred volume? what are they but illusive clouds of metaphor, instead of clear illuminations from the Father of lights? We apprehend that many of liberal education, and especially those particularly interested in natural science, entertain the same, not only unscriptural, but *unphilosophical* opinion.

Ask these men of liberal acquirements, What is the present employment of the Creator, if his works are continued in action by the supposed deputed efficiency? and they reply, that he is active in some new geological or animal formation in some unfinished planet. Or he is creating from its dust, and induing with his image the lords of some completed world, to replenish and subdue it. And perhaps he is performing miraculous wonders to reclaim and educate the sinful race of some other sphere. Seemingly as if the Almighty and Omnipresent portioned out his enegies upon spots; or as if, excepting these few and scattered localities of action, he rested in slumberous complacency, in the midst of his perfected works.

Some of the most distinguished theologians and philosophers of modern times have expressed the opinion, which we have attempted somewhat to elucidate. We quote the following from the eighth chapter of the third book of the Bridgewater Treatise named at the head of this article.

"The laws of material nature, such as we have described them, operate at all times and in all places; affect every province of the universe, and involve every relation of its parts. Wherever these laws appear, we have a manifestation of the intelligence by which they were established. But a law supposes an agent and a power; for it is a mode according to which the agent proceeds, the order according to which the power acts. Without the presence of such an agent, of such a power, conscious of the relations on which the

law depends, producing the effects which the law prescribes, the law can have no efficiency, no existence. Hence we infer that the intelligence by which the law is ordained, the power by which it is put in action, must be present at all times and in all places where the effects of the law occur; that thus the knowledge and the agency of the Divine Being pervade every portion of the universe, producing all action and passion, all permanence and change. The laws of nature are the laws which he, in his wisdom, prescribes to his own acts; his universal presence is the necessary condition of any course of events, his universal agency the only origin of any efficient force.

"This view of the relation of the universal God has been entertained by many of the most eminent of those who have combined the consideration of the material world with the contemplation of God himself. It may therefore be of use to illustrate it by a few quotations, and the more so as we find this idea remarkably dwelt upon in the works of that writer whose religious views must always have a peculiar interest for the cultivators of physical science, the great Newton.

"Thus, in the observations on the nature of the Deity, with which he closes the 'Optics,' he declares the various portions of the world, organic and inorganic, 'can be the effect of nothing else than the wisdom and skill of a powerful and ever-living Agent, who, being in all places, is more able by his will to move the bodies within his boundless uniform *sensorium*, and thereby to form and reform the parts of the universe, than we are by our will to move the parts of our own bodies.' And in the Scholium at the end of the 'Principia' he says, 'God is one and the same God always and everywhere. He is omnipresent, not by means of his *virtue* alone, but also by his *substance*, for virtue cannot subsist without substance. In him all things are contained and move, but without mutual passion: God is not acted upon by the motion of bodies; and they suffer no resistance from the omnipresence of God.' And he refers to several passages confirmatory of this view, not only in the Scriptures, but also in writers who hand down to us the opinions of some of the most philosophical thinkers of the pagan world.

"Clarke, the friend and disciple of Newton, is one of those who has most strenuously put forward the opinion of which we are speaking: 'All things which we commonly say are the effects of the natural powers of matter and laws of motion, are indeed (if we will speak strictly and properly) the effects of God's acting upon matter continually and at every moment, either immediately by himself, or mediately by some created intelligent being. Consequently there is no such thing as the course of nature, or the

power of nature,' independent of the effects produced by the will of God.

"Dugald Stewart has adopted and illustrated the same opinion.

"Finally we may add, that the same opinions still obtain the assent of the best philosophers and divines of our time. Sir John Herschel says, (Discourse on the Study of Natural Philosophy, p. 37,) 'We would no way be understood to deny the constant exercise of His direct power in maintaining the system of nature; or the ultimate emanation of every energy which material agents exert, from his immediate will, acting in conformity with his own laws.' And the Bishop of London, in a note to his 'Sermon on the Duty of combining Religious Instruction with Intellectual Culture,' observes, 'The student in natural philosophy will find rest from all those perplexities which are occasioned by the obscurity of causation, in the supposition which, although it was discredited by the patronage of Malebranche and the Cartesians, has been adopted by Clarke and Dugald Stewart, and which is by far the most simple and sublime account of the matter, that all the events which are continually taking place in the different parts of the material universe, are the *immediate* effects of the divine agency.'"

To this most worthy testimony, original and quoted, of Mr. Whewell's Treatise, might be added the similar opinion of Paley, as expressed in his "Natural Theology," particularly in the chapter on the "Personality of the Deity."

ART. IV.—1. *The Life, Times, and Correspondence of the Rev. Isaac Watts, D. D.* By the Rev. THOMAS MILNER, M. A., Author of "The Seven Churches of Asia." London, 1834. 8vo. pp. 734.

2. *The Sacred Classics. Vol. IX. Horæ Lyricæ.* By ISAAC WATTS, D. D.; with a Memoir of the Author, by ROBERT SOUTHEY, Esq., LL. D. London. 1834. 12mo. pp. 298.

We should hardly have expected, at this late day when nearly a century has passed since his death, another "Life and Times" of good old Dr. Watts. Not that we should have been slow to welcome any fresh intelligence, any last or yet inedited works of that great man. For his name is still fra-

grant with us. It awakens some of our most agreeable associations of early childhood and of maturer years. The sight and the sound of it are grateful. We were ready to rejoice in any new light that might be afforded upon his character or opinions; and knowing, as in the memoirs recently published of Locke, of Calamy and Doddridge,* of Pepys, and others, that there has been of late much successful industry in bringing to view authentic documents of interesting events and persons of past generations, both here and in England, we supposed that this work by Mr. Milner was of the same description. And, when we saw with our own eyes a portly octavo purporting to be "The Life, Times, and Correspondence" of this eminent divine, we anticipated a feast of good things, of which, though it were reasonable to expect that many would be old, we thought some at least must be new. It was only natural to suppose that additional materials had been discovered; that some worthy descendant, for example, of Sir John Hartopp, Baronet, who was first the pupil and then the intimate friend of Watts, on taking possession of the ancient house, had found some correspondence of the Doctor; or, that some old trunks in the garrets of Sir Thomas Abney's spacious and hospitable mansion, where Watts, on an invitation for a fortnight, was an honored and welcomed guest for full thirty-six years, had been examined; and possibly some curious papers, of which Dr. Lardner intimated the existence, recording the matured views of their author on the Trinity, or other questions of moment touching the interests or prospects of nonconformity, &c., were at length to be given to the world.

But we are sorry to inform our readers, that nothing of all this is true; so that, if they have partaken at all of our reasonable expectations, they must partake with us also in our disappointment. For a more unsatisfactory book of its size we have seldom met with. Excepting in the mere narrative, most of which is old, it is strangely dull. In truth, we are left to marvel what could have tempted Mr. Milner to such an enterprise, who, if he knew, as he should have known, what had been already printed, must have been conscious how little he had to add. Or, admitting that a new memoir was desirable, we no less wonder that he should have been unconscious of

* See Christian Examiner, New Series, Vol. VII.

what he has so well succeeded in demonstrating to his readers, — his utter incompetency to the task.

The learned Jortin has somewhere in his "Remarks on Ecclesiastical History" bestowed, not forgetting his usual candor, a sort of fame on a certain pedant and biographer, whom he designates "as a stupid blockhead by the name of Ben-Gorion." We should be tempted, except for some modest distrust in the efficacy of our pages to confer a like glory, to designate in the same way this last of the biographers of the immortal Watts. For, we must repeat it, a poorer book with so rich a subject we are seldom called to read. The only additions of any moment, distinguishing this from former "Lives," relate not so much to Dr. Watts himself, as to his family and some of his friends. Of a few of these, namely, the first Lord Barrington, author of "Miscellanea Sacra," and other excellent books; Richard Cromwell, eldest son of the Protector, who in his old age, which was vigorous and cheerful, was often visited by Watts;* and, lastly, Mrs. Bendish, a granddaughter of the Protector, being daughter of General Ireton by Bridget Cromwell, a most masculine and eccentric personage; — of all of whom within the compass of two or three pages, some curious incidents are related. For the rest, whoever wishes to know what can be said of Watts, will find it better said in the notices of Jennings and Gibbon, Dr. Johnson and Palmer; and particularly in a judicious summary of all these by the late Dr. Belknap of this city, enriched with the remarks of that accomplished historian, as well as with manuscript letters of Watts, still in possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The compiler did not set his name to this pleasant volume; but it was published in 1793, five years before his death, and includes the Memoirs, by Kippis, of Dr. Doddridge.

* This son of the Protector and successor to his power, after several years of perplexity and pecuniary embarrassments on the Continent, returned to England, and resided in the village of Cheshunt, where the pew in which he used to sit in the meeting-house, is still preserved as a relic worthy of notice. He courted privacy; and always avoided speaking of the time of his elevation. Watts, who must have been young at that time, was admitted among his few visitors, and asserted, that "he never knew him glance but once at his former station, and that in a very distant manner." Nature clearly intended him for a private station.

But though the Rev. Mr. Milner has furnished us so little we had not known before of Dr. Watts, he has given us a great deal of one, concerning whom but for this volume we had known nothing, namely, himself. In this he has accomplished one at least of his purposes, though less, we fear, to the satisfaction of his readers than his own; serving them as would he, who, undertaking to introduce an eminent man to a company eager to see and to hear his wisdom, should silence him and grievously annoy them by taking the whole conversation to himself. Mr. Milner seldom adverts to any marked incident in the life of his subject, to the date of any of his greater publications, or to any controversy in which he was engaged, without prefacing the whole with some prosing dissertation of his own. When, for example, he is about to announce the fact of Mr. Watts's preparation for the ministry, he speaks at no small length of what he thinks that preparation demands. When Mr. Watts enters upon his ministry, it gives Mr. Milner occasion to "advert to the state of religion and of religious parties in the nation at that era." And here he fails not to tell us, in a strain which some might call cant, but we will call lamentation, remarking only how like it is the strain which we have been accustomed to hear from religionists of like stamp at the present day, — "that there was no period since the Reformation, when the ministry of religion in the establishment exercised so little beneficial influence upon the people, as at that period;" and, as if he had borrowed from some complaining spirits among ourselves, or they from him, the very language, he says in reference to some eminent divines of that day, of whom others of competent judgment have pronounced, "that they had never been surpassed in erudition, in eloquence, or in strength and subtilty of mind," — "that instead of advocating the truth as it is in Jesus, they were engaged in reducing Christianity to a lifeless system, and converting religion into a mere moral scheme. With all their Ciceronish or Attic eloquence, they knew not the first principles of the doctrine of Christ; they were the merest novices of religion, apostles of natural religion rather than preachers of the revealed word, more familiar with Plato than Paul, with the ethics of Seneca than with the glories of the cross." In the same connexion, and with like charity, he reprehends the "cold philosophy of Lardner, the moral lections of Kippis, the stiff and starched critical essays of Benson, and the dry effusions of a Socinian-

ized ministry," by which the devotion of the heart evaporated into an intellectual principle, and the conversion of the soul was frittered down into a mere natural process of mental *enlightenment* and cultivation. With equal felicity in the choice of terms, he speaks for the same purpose of the "*apathetic* soul" of Dr. George Benson; he laments an opposite extreme of "ambitious *pietism*, which asserted extravagant claims to high supernal illumination;" and then, among other critical remarks on Watts's "Guide to Prayer," he speaks of the Divine Being as "gladding his people with the exuberant profusions of his grace and the sempiternal efflux of his glory!" In these and such like passages of frequent occurrence, our worthy author sometimes leaves us, we must confess, in no little loss as to his meaning. But we suppose he was not equally at a loss himself.

When, again, he comes to the notice of Watts's "Hymns" and "Lyric Poems," Mr. Milner, premising, according to his custom, a copious discussion of his own on devotional poetry, in which he formally addresses himself to the refutation of that unfortunate sentence of Dr. Johnson as to "the paucity of its topics," &c. &c., proceeds to vindicate for Dr. Watts "the highest place among the *hymnists* of our land." With great expense of learning, he shows that "uninspired productions were introduced into the *hymnology* of the church at an early period;" he shows how several of the Fathers sought to edify their flocks by supplying them with devotional poetry; how Hilary of Poictiers, in the fourth century, made a collection of hymns; how Prudentius of Saragossa, in the fifth, increased but did not enrich, even with his *Hymnus Epiphaniæ*, the sacred songs of Christendom; how the Arians of Constantinople sung hymns strongly tinctured with the peculiarities of their creed; and how an orthodox bishop, fearing the propagation of so pestilent a heresy, furnished his choir with some safer hymns of his own. Then passing to the "hymnology of Catholicism," he kindly informs us, that Hildebert, bishop of Anomanum (Mans), sung in the twelfth century some verses in his cathedral, which Usher designates "rhythmos elegantissimos"; but rapidly coming to the times of the Reformation, and celebrating Luther as a poet and musician as well as a reformer, he remarks, that in his verse "he comes before us strong in his righteous cause, impetuous as his own wild and voiceful Rhine;" and then, after a cursory survey of more recent "composuists," in which

Doddridge and the Wesleys, Newton and Cowper, Toplady and Beddome, "whose verse," says he, "barren in poetry, will yet remain for its instructive metrical aphorisms a lasting blessing to the families of the righteous," while Toplady, with all his churlishness, "has struck off tones from David's harp not inferior in musical intonation to any of his compeers"! — having, we repeat, thus faithfully surveyed the whole range of Christian Hymnology, he deliberately assigns to Dr. Watts the highest place among the *Hymnists* of the land; and though he admits that he has faults, many and grievous faults, yet he regards them only as "such imperfections as might be expected to connect themselves with a first *hymnic* enterprise." *

From these specimens our readers may easily judge of the manner, in which our author has accomplished his own biographical enterprise. And we assure them, that when he comes in this large volume to the discussion of still higher matters, — the controversies, for example, in which Dr. Watts engaged, the neutrality he maintained, much to Mr. Milner's dissatisfaction, in the matter of subscription to the Trinity proposed in 1720 at the Salters'-Hall Conference; and especially the changes asserted to have taken place in his views of that doctrine before his death, — he fails not to gratify his readers with yet fuller exhibitions of his fervent orthodoxy and severe taste.

In relation to the "Hymns" of Dr. Watts, few of our readers need to be informed, that, with his "Lyric Poems," they were the earliest of his productions. Many of them were written before he was twenty years of age, while he was pursuing his studies under his father's roof; and were at first designed to supplant a miserable version used in the dissenting church at Southampton, of which his father was a deacon. There is not the shadow of a doubt, that, as he advanced in life,

* Mr. Milner gives a pleasant additional proof of his own turn for poetry in an elaborate criticism in a subsequent chapter, on some versions of the Psalms, which he compares with that of Dr. Watts. Speaking of Merrick's, he is pleased to observe, that "in it we look in vain for the lofty and bold conceptions of the Psalmist; all is flat, languid and insipid; the high hills become table-lands; the everlasting mountains hide their diminished heads, and the lofty cedars are pared down into trim hedge-rows"! — We hope our author may favor the public with a version of his own.

he became dissatisfied with some of these youthful effusions, and would gladly have corrected them, had it remained in his power. That this dissatisfaction, moreover, was not confined to mere matters of taste or expression, is evident from various sources, — namely, 1. The testimony of Dr. Amory, who related, in the presence of Mr. Palmer, a conversation, which he himself heard, between Mr. Grove and Watts, in which the latter, replying to some wishes expressed by the former, that he would alter certain objectionable passages in his Hymns, replied that "he would be glad to do it, but he had parted with the copyright, and the bookseller would not suffer any such alteration." 2. From private correspondence between Watts and the Rev. Martin Tompkins, a friend of Lardner, and dismissed from his people for Arianism, in which, answering to some plain queries of his friend, the Doctor writes, "I freely answer, I wish some things in them," i. e. his Hymns, "were corrected. But of all the books I have written, that particular copy is not mine. I sold the copy for a trifle to Mr. Lawrence near thirty years ago, and his posterity make money of it to the present day; and I can scarcely claim a right to make any alteration in the book, that," &c. 3. From letters of the Rev. Mr. Merivale of Exeter, addressed to Dr. Priestley at Leeds, in which he cites the testimony of Dr. Lardner, containing a positive assertion, — and it was not of Lardner to assert or deny without grounds, — that Dr. Watts's last thoughts were completely Unitarian.* And 4., omitting some incidental evidence, from a Tract, printed by Watts himself in 1745, three years only before his death, and *by him at the persuasion of his orthodox friends suppressed*; but a single copy of which was accidentally found in the year 1796,† and a new edition of it pub-

* This letter of Dr. Lardner is given at length, with the whole correspondence of Mr. Merivale in the Appendix of this work; and may be found also with other interesting matters relating to the same subject in Belsham's "Memoirs of Lindsey," p. 216.

† The discoverer and editor of this Tract was Mr. Gabriel Watts, not however a relation of the Doctor's, who gives the following information concerning it, which, independently of its bearing upon a theological question, will be regarded as an interesting fact in literary history.

"The copy from which this is taken, was accidentally found in a collection of old books,' in a bookseller's shop in Southampton in the year 1796. The author's name, &c. with the date 1745, were

lished in 1802. The manuscript of this curious work was, let it be noted, among the papers of the author, that were destroyed by his executors; and the general character given of it by the person who discovered the only remaining printed copy was, that it was similar in style and sentiment to his other trinitarian Tracts, showing a remarkable caution, diffidence, and perplexity of mind, but especially the unaffected piety and humility which pervaded the whole soul and life of that faithful minister of Jesus. The title of the work is "A faithful Enquiry after the ancient and original Doctrine of the Trinity, taught by Christ and his Apostles," &c. On the contents of the work itself, our limits will not permit us to enlarge. A second edition of it, however, appears to have been published in 1816, and was candidly reviewed in "The Christian Disciple," for November, 1820. We refer our readers for their own satisfaction to that article, in which are copious extracts from the Tract itself, and from which, though not certainly of "so decisive a character," as the rumor and mystery about it had led us to anticipate, they will still see, that, while the terms he retains seem to be Trinitarian, the meaning is virtually Unitarian. One of his chapters "contains a set argument against the personality of the Holy Spirit, none pretending," says the Doctor, "that the word *person* is expressly applied to the Holy Spirit," — and "the Sacred Three," as he denominates them, he represents not as *real* but only "Scriptural persons," that is, according to his own explanation, *figurative* persons; while as to other expressions he employs, it is not easy to perceive, that they differ in reality from the simplest form of Unitarianism.

But admitting, as we freely will, that all this and much other testimony we might adduce of a similar nature, lead only to inferences, which may be variously shaped according

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written at the bottom of the title-page. It is probable that this copy had formed a part of a collection of books belonging to some member of the author's family, who resided at Southampton, which had recently been exposed to sale; for in the blank leaf of a small book, which was lying next it, was written, apparently in Watts's own hand, 'To my dear Sister, Mrs. Mary Watts.'

"Of this book," continues the discoverer, "the Doctor printed off only fifty copies, and showed them to some friends, who all persuaded him that it would ruin his character in his old age for publishing such dotage; and at length he was prevailed on to burn them, except this single copy, which by an accident escaped the flames."

to the inclinations of the party, we next demand, that they be compared with other passages in the works of Watts published also in his lifetime, and which undeniably show, that there had some change taken place in the writer's mind, which he was anxious to explain to the world, and reconcile to the prejudices of his orthodox friends.

Upon publishing some sermons many years after they were written, in which he had discussed the nature of the Trinity, he confesses in a note, "that these were warmer efforts of imagination than riper years could indulge on a theme so sublime and abstruse. For since," he says, "I have searched more studiously into the mystery of late, I have learned more of my own ignorance; so that, when I speak of these unsearchables, I abate much of my younger assurance; nor do my later thoughts venture so far into the particular modes of explaining the sacred distinctions of the Godhead." *

Again, in his preface to another discourse on the Trinity, he says;

"Perhaps it may be charged upon me, that I have not, in these dissertations, exactly confined myself in every punctilio to the sentiments, which I published some years ago with relation to the doctrine of the Deity; and particularly, that though I continue to maintain the supreme Deity of the Son and Spirit, yet that I have described the doctrine of their personality in stronger and more general terms heretofore than I have done in these papers. Here let me give one general answer. When I apply myself with diligence to make further inquiries into the great doctrines of the gospel, I would never make my own former opinions the standard of truth, and the rule, by which to determine my future judgment." — "I thank God I have learnt to retract my former sentiments and change them, when, upon stricter search and review, they appear less agreeable to the divine standard of faith. Though a sentence or two from any man's former writings may be able, perhaps, to confront his latter thoughts, yet that is not sufficient to refute them. All that it will prove is, that that man keeps his mind open to conviction; that he is willing and desirous to change a darker for a clearer idea, and that his knowledge is capable of improvement."

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* For these and many other passages of the same bearing, see the Preface to Discourses on "the Glory of Christ as God-Man displayed"; also the Preface and Conclusion to the Dissertations entitled, "The Arian invited to the Orthodox Faith"; his "Questions concerning Jesus as the Son of God"; and, in fine, all his later tracts on the Trinity.

Mr. Southey, in his pleasant though truly churchman-like Memoir of Watts prefixed to the "Horæ Lyricæ," one of the volumes of "The Sacred Classics," now in the course of publication, quotes the above passages. His work, as a matter of taste, is a real refreshment after the toil of wading through Mr. Milner's. But it amuses us to notice the remarks, which this once Poet Laureat, and now church-and-state gentleman, connects with his citations.

"Watts," says Mr. Southey, "continued to search into the unsearchables." "He had inherited a large share of the original temptation,—that inward and spiritual temptation, whereby man is incited to pluck the forbidden fruit. He approached too near the veil;" that is, as we understand it, he searched the Scriptures, and labored like an honest man and faithful minister to ascertain their meaning.

Again, observes Mr. Southey, whose authority we must still prefer as a poet rather than as a theologian,—"It cannot be doubted that Watts's intellectual bias inclined him towards the *movement* party. Happily his piety withheld him from falling into their march of error."

Whether the movements of this excellent man were from truth or error, it may not be questioned, that material changes did take place in some of his views of the Christian doctrine. That, in the strict and proper sense of the word, Dr. Watts became a Unitarian, or,—what is perhaps the more doubtful point,—was ever willing to avow himself such, we will not undertake to show. That in certain points, so as to excite the alarms and even the reproaches of his Trinitarian friends, and their fears of the influence of his name after his death, he greatly modified his early opinions, it were absurd to deny. Many of his manuscripts were destroyed. His executors, to whom he intrusted the whole care of his papers, made no secret, says the venerable Mr. Palmer, of their having suppressed a part, and simply said,* "that it was not judged necessary to publish them."

Mr. Milner discusses the whole evidence in this question with great fulness and a commendable fairness, but comes to the conclusion naturally to be expected from one of his decided faith and temperament. He satisfies himself with the

* See Preface to the "Address to the Deity," which was found among Watts's papers and published after his death.

remark, "The nature of the Deity, — one God in trinity and trinity in unity, is mystery and incomprehensibleness; and every attempt to render the mystery conceivable by the human mind must in the nature of things be abortive." "This," says he, "*is the rock upon which Dr. Watts splits;** he endeavours to reconcile what to human wit is irreconcilable, — to explain what is inexplicable, — and not to receive the plain doctrine, that there is in the divine nature," &c., in the usual strain of theologians of his school.

For ourselves, knowing that, after all, the question, however interesting as belonging to the personal history of such an one as Watts, is not a question touching the word of God, or the things that pertain to salvation, but only the opinions of a fallible man, we are content with leaving it where it is; being fully persuaded, that whatever that great man saw or did not see on earth, he now sees in the full light of heaven, — that there is one God, even the Father, and that there is

* Dr. Benjamin Colman, of Brattle Street Church, who was a correspondent of Dr. Watts, and like him, as was said, an unsuccessful suitor, when in his youth, of Miss Singer, afterwards the celebrated Mrs. Elizabeth Rowe, on receiving a letter from his friend, dated 1747, touching his last views of the Trinity, observed, "My dear Watts has looked so long at the sun as to weaken his sight." Dr. Colman was intimately acquainted with Dr. Watts when he was in England; and long and frequent letters passed between them, several of which have been published, and others remain in the Library of the Mass. Hist. Society. Dr. Watts was much interested in the welfare of Harvard College, and sent his portrait with many of his own books for the Library. On receiving Dr. Colman's picture, after expressing his thanks, he says, "I have put it in a frame, that it may hang in the same rank with Dr. Increase and Dr. Cotton Mather in the front of my study. I have there nearly eighty philosophers and divines surrounding me; their spirits are copied in their books, and their faces adorn my beloved retirement. There, Heathen and Christian, Papists and Protestants, Calvinists and Arminians, Presbyterians and Episcopalians, all meet in silence and peace. Were you to see my co-habitants, you would say, I was a man of catholicism. Most of them I hope to meet in the regions of love and peace." Dr. Watts maintained a friendly correspondence with many, both civilians and divines of New England. In the volume before us [Mr. Milner's] are found many American letters, of which are some from Governor Belcher, from Mr. Williams, Rector of Yale College, from Professor Isaac Greenwood of Harvard College, and from several others. Our worthy compiler, however, in his notes describing characters and events on this "the American strand," commits grevious blunders in names, dates, &c., which the least pains might have saved him.

none other but he. For of him and through him and to him are all things; to whom, therefore, says the Apostle, be glory for ever.

Next to the publication of Dr. Watts's Hymns, which, as our readers may observe, was the occasion of this long, though not irrelevant digression on the changes in his doctrinal views, followed his well-known version of the Psalms. This later production of his muse bears, as might be expected, marks of a maturer judgment. Mr. Milner does not fail to improve the opportunity by another dissertation on ancient and modern, Pagan and Christian Psalmody, in which, by reason of his profound learning and taste, we despair of following him. Of Watts's Psalms in themselves, it is wholly unnecessary to speak. The world has approved them; and with all the defects inseparable from an attempt to engraft on the Christian worship so many peculiarities of the Jewish, or to spiritualize so much that was local, personal to David, or of mere temporary application, no one will deny, that, for poetical beauty, for felicitous expression, and their power to enkindle the purest devotional spirit, many of them have not been equalled, and some of them will probably never be surpassed.

One circumstance should be mentioned in relation to this Version of the Psalms, not certainly to the discredit of Dr. Watts, but rather as a curious addition to similar facts in literary history. We refer to his free use *without acknowledgment* of the poetic labors of others. Whoever will compare his translation of the 23d, 89th, and 139th Psalms with that of Tate and Brady, must perceive that the praise (to adopt again Mr. Milner's favorite expression) of so successful "an hymnic enterprise" belongs wholly to the latter. For the version of Tate and Brady was licensed by royal authority and introduced into the churches in 1696, and Watts's was not published till many years after.

But it is not to Tate and Brady alone that our "divine poet" was indebted. A late critic in the "Christian Observer" (see Number for January, 1835) has shown, that to Sir John Denham, an earlier writer, Watts is under equal if not greater obligations. In Psalms 80, 89, 94, 100, 104, 124, 142, there are not resemblances alone, but actual copyings of line for line, and specially in the 104th Psalm, two or three whole stanzas with scarcely a verbal variation. Now this we count somewhat singular. In different versions of

the same poem we should look of course and of necessity for resemblances, otherwise there must be a want of fidelity in one or both to the original. But we hardly expect actual copying. And if, as is the proper inference, it was not Watts's design to furnish an entire version of his own, he should unquestionably have acknowledged the sources, whence he derived such abundant and effectual help. He is, however, neither the first nor the last among poets and orators, who have left their readers to discover, quite independently of other aid, with whose ornaments besides their own they have adorned themselves.

Of the prominent incidents in Dr. Watts's history our readers, we suppose, must be too familiar to need the repetition. His habitual ill health, relieved through his long life by only short and distant intervals of recovered strength, enforced perpetual retirement; consequently he was seldom found at the meetings of his brethren, and never in the busy resorts of men. His preaching was always at great expense of his strength; and not seldom, on returning home, he was compelled to retire for hours to his darkened chamber and to his bed. For six years after he became Pastor of Bury Street, he lodged in the house of Sir John Hartopp, Baronet, near the city, of whose son he was the honored tutor. In London, for a season, he was the welcomed guest of Hollis senior, uncle of Thomas Hollis, the generous friend of freedom and benefactor of Harvard College; till in 1703, after a slow recovery from a dangerous illness, he was invited by Sir Thomas Abney to try the effect of change of air at his house at Theobald's, a few miles from London. Thither Watts went, intending to stay but a single week, and there he remained six and thirty years, which was as long as he lived.

"Here," says his first biographer, Dr. Gibbons, "he enjoyed the uninterrupted demonstrations of the truest friendship. Here, without any cares of his own, he had every thing, which could contribute to the enjoyment of life, and favor the unwearied pursuit of his studies. Here he dwelt in a family, which for piety, order, harmony, and every virtue, was an house of God." — "Had it not been for this invitation, he might, as to outward view, have feebly, it may be painfully, dragged on through many more years of languor and inability for public service, or sunk into his grave in the midst of his days under the load of his infirmities, and the church and the world would have been deprived of those works, which he drew up and published during his residence in this family."

Mr. Southey also observes to the same purpose;

"A happier situation, for one who had made up his mind to celibacy, could hardly be imagined." — "Mr. Watts was thus adopted into a family, which loved him for his personal qualities, admired him for his genius, and revered him for his piety. *On their side there was no pride of patronage; on his there was no uneasy feeling of dependence.* He was exempt from the ordinary cares of life, and enabled at perfect leisure to employ himself in the way which he deemed most useful."

Again, "His usefulness among his flock was in no degree diminished by his residence at Theobald's. It was easy for him, when his health permitted, to officiate in London. Lady Abney's carriage was at his command, and the family with which he was domesticated, being of his own persuasion, were as much interested upon this point as himself. If he was disabled by indisposition, there was no cause for uneasiness on that account; for his colleague, [Mr. Price, uncle of Dr. Richard Price,] with whom he always maintained an uninterrupted friendship, was on the spot to supply his place. When he was incapable of public labor, he refused to receive his salary; and at all times a *third** part of his income was devoted to charitable purposes."

The remarks which follow may be just, but applicable, we are ready to think, to the state of society and of churches in England rather than to our own.

"Perhaps the peculiar position in which he was placed, increased both the respect and the affection with which his congregation regarded him. It made him independent of them; and they looked upon him, not in the light of a dependent upon the wealthy family with which he was domesticated, nor as a humble friend, but as what in reality he was, one of its members, adopted into it by the special friendship of one of the wealthiest and most considerable persons attached to the dissenting cause."

Whether in our community, and with the spirit of our republicanism in church as well as in state, it be an advantage to a minister (by which we mean, favorable to his spiritual influence,) to be independent of his people, must rest on a variety of circumstances. Personal ability and fidelity must of course determine his weight; yet, other qualifications being equal, we are rather disposed to the impression, that a certain measure of

* Dr. Johnson says a *third* part, from whom Southey borrowed it; but Dr. Jennings, who probably knew best, says, it was a *fifth*. His whole income seldom exceeded £100 a year.

dependence on a people, supposing them liberal and kind, is most favorable to their confidence, and to his full access to their hearts. People love to feel, that, while their teacher is dispensing to them of the things that are spiritual, he is resting on them for things temporal.

It was under this peculiar felicity of his condition, this pleasant home at Lady Abney's, that Dr. Watts composed most of the works, nearly fifty in number, which have made his name immortal. Many of those for children and young persons, such as his "Art of Reading and Writing English," his "First Principles of Geography and Astronomy," and probably some of his Catechisms, were written, in token of his gratitude, for the benefit of Lady Abney's children, in whose education and character he took a tender interest.

In Sir Thomas Abney's garden there stood, near the entrance of a long moss walk, overshadowed by some venerable elm trees, a summer-house, which more than fifty years after his death was shown as the place in which Watts composed many of his works. These obtained for him as they were published, a high reputation, though his Hymns and some of his Tracts on the Trinity did not escape severe reprehension.* When he had passed fifty-six years of his age, and not earlier, he received from the universities of Edinburgh and Aberdeen, the same year, a degree of Doctor of Divinity.

His private character and intercourse appear from the testimony of all his biographers to have been in the highest degree exemplary and amiable. From his venerable father, who had been a sufferer under King James for conscience' sake, but

*The Doctor's mode of explaining the Trinity gave sore offence to the rigidly orthodox, who never forgave him for refusing his subscription to the test at the Salters'-Hall Conference. He was assailed with great bitterness, five years after, by the Rev. Thomas Bradbury, whose zeal for orthodoxy was quickened by his impetuous temper. He particularly set himself against the introduction into his own pulpit, and others places where he preached, of Watts's Psalms and Hymns. It is said, that on one occasion an unlucky clerk having stumbled upon one of them, Mr. Bradbury got up and reproved him with "Let us have none of Mr. Watts's whims." Nor was he alone, except in the manner of this opposition. It appears indeed that the benevolence of Watts's character did not secure him from the derision of the wits. Pope introduced his name contemptuously into the first edition of the Dunciad, but withdrew it afterwards, as he did that of Wesley the elder, on the remonstrance of Watts.

lived long after to witness the virtues and honors of his son, he received those early impressions of religion which abide; so that piety, says Dr. Jennings, "pure and undissembled piety, was the settled habit of his mind." Though naturally of a susceptible temper, and a sufferer, sometimes to the very borders of insanity, from nervous disorders, he is said to have acquired in a good measure the control of his passions, and "to have been gentle, humble, and inoffensive in his established practice." Considering the feebleness of his body, and his severe and protracted illnesses, it is surprising he attained to so advanced an age. Doubtless the freedom from care which he enjoyed under Lady Abney's roof was favorable. But though the bounty of that excellent woman shut out want, it could not protect him from some other troubles, by which many good men have been severely tried. "The conduct," says Southey, "of some very near relations," (meaning a younger brother, Richard Watts, and a base nephew of the name of Brackstone,) "embittered his latter days, and for a while, being in extreme weakness, he was stupefied by it to such a degree as hardly to take notice of any thing about him." Dr. Doddridge, who visited him at this time, was exceedingly affected by the melancholy condition in which he found him. He scarcely knew his friend, and had hardly a word to utter. There must indeed have been some unusual malignity in this misconduct of his relations, since it is represented by a confidant as a "most infamous and enormous wickedness." Lady Abney with judicious tenderness, "contrived to conceal from him the worst part of it, and to keep his enemies at a becoming distance;" so that, notwithstanding some nervous paroxysms, which were severe and distressing, and which occasioned groundless rumors of his mental derangement, he recovered before his last illness the full composure of his mind. "I am waiting," replied he to his trusty servant, who asked how he was, "I am waiting God's leave to die." And it was just before his death, that he is said to have repeated with approbation that remark of an aged minister, "The most learned Christians, when they come to die, have only the same plain promises of the Gospel for their support as the common and unlearned. And so," added he, "I find it. It is the plain promises of the Gospel that are my support. And I bless God, that they are plain promises, that do not require much labor and pains to understand them. For I can do nothing

now but look into my Bible for some plain promise to support me, and live upon that."

We have not room for the reflections, which crowd upon us from even this cursory survey of the life of this eminent man. Of these, our readers will not have failed to perceive, that neither the fame of his genius nor the felicity of his personal condition, nor the competence nor the leisure * he enjoyed, could protect him from the reproaches, disappointments, and even domestic disquietudes common to inferior men. Dr. Watts experienced from his brethren his full share of theological hate; and, though neither husband nor father, he was well nigh overwhelmed by the misconduct of some of his kindred. Now when time has set its seal upon the name of a great man, we are too ready to imagine that his *progress* to that fame was also triumphant; and to forget the obstacles and mortifications he may have encountered in his path. Yet the history of great men will be found the history of their trials; and what seems glorious, and perhaps is envied as such by them who only look without, is often attended with such circumstances of vexation or defect, as make it scarcely compensate the toil of obtaining it.

But the great lesson to be derived from the character of this good man is the example of his *catholicism*. This, to adopt one of his own favorite epithets, was his shining grace. "In him," says Dr. Johnson, "orthodoxy was ever united to charity." It pervaded his life. It maintained in him a sacred

* Though the general ill health of Dr. Watts withdrew him much from active employment, and increased his natural passion for retirement, his habits were still those of constant industry. When free from the attacks of his complaint, he would not plead the privilege of an invalid to dispense himself from his share of duty. He preached in his turn as often as he could, in Bury Street. He took a prominent part in some of the various plans of usefulness formed among the Dissenters, especially in those relating to New England; and, though seldom present at the public meetings of his brethren, he was often visited and consulted by them. He maintained, as has been seen, an extensive correspondence both at home and abroad. And though we seldom or never find him on distant journeys, for councils or ordinations, — those consumers of ministerial time at the present day, — he did not always decline extraordinary professional services. It is with entire justice therefore that Mr. Milner remarks, "In the midst of such avocations and a constant martyr to disease, to produce such a number of important works, embracing a range of subjects so extended, evinces an industry and resolution seldom surpassed." — Milner's *Life*, p. 522.

regard for the rights and judgment of others. It prevented his subscribing his name to a test of human imposition, even though that test might express his private belief. This same charity pervaded his writings. It led him, as we have seen, to adorn his spacious study with nearly a hundred portraits * of the wise and good of different times and differing names, heathen as well as Christian, and to hope that he should meet them at last in heaven. It followed him to his dying hour. For, that his grave might read a lecture of that moderation which his life had exemplified and his pen had advocated, he desired that his funeral should be attended by two Independent ministers, two Presbyterian, and two Baptist. He also directed, says his biographer, "that his remains should be interred in Bunhill Fields, London, deep in the earth, among the relics of his pious fathers and brethren, whom he had known and honored here, and with whom he wished to be found in the resurrection."

Within that great repository of the "dissenting dead," the dust of Watts reposes in the same grave with that of his faithful colleague; in the near neighbourhood of Bradbury, his zealous antagonist, and the more congenial dust of Neal and Calamy, of Fleming and Lowman, of Chandler and Lardner, of Kippis and Price. The monument which was erected immediately after his death, "as a small testimony of regard to his memory, by Sir John Hartopp and Dame Mary Abney,"

* It is pleasant to know, that among Watts's few recreations, painting found a place. Mr. Milner tells us, that he frequently employed his pencil in his leisure hours. Some of the portraits, of which we have spoken as adorning his study, were executed by himself. The house in which Lady Abney resided at Stoke-Newington, and which was occupied by her surviving daughter until the year 1782,† still retains some interesting memorials of the Poet and Painter. "There is a costly apartment, called the painting-room, on the window-shutters of which are some pictorial decorations, executed, it is said, with considerable skill, and supposed to have been added by Watts's pencil."

† This daughter of Lady Abney, a pupil in her youth of Dr. Watts, lived to a very advanced age. Her appearance betokened considerable antiquity, for she retained the costume of a belle of George the First's reign, with formidable hoop and all the appurtenances of the *ancien régime*. Dr. Winter of London used to relate of himself, that when a little boy, on being introduced to her presence, he was abashed. But the good dame, by way of being familiar, condescended to inquire how old he thought she was. The awe-struck youngster, eyeing the venerable figure before him, replied, "*Madam, nine hundred years.*"

was several years ago in a state of decay, so that the modest inscription inscribed upon it by the direction of Watts himself, was scarcely legible. It has since been renewed, we learn, by the munificence of some of the descendants of those his ancient friends; and still records, with the modest mention of his name, the text he selected as the expression of his undying hope: —

"When Christ, who is my life, shall appear, then shall I also appear with him in glory."

ART. V.—*An Essay on the Moral Constitution and History of Man.* Edinburgh. W. Tait. 1834. 12mo. pp. viii. and 272.

THIS is a valuable work on a very important subject. It is the production of no common-place mind. Every page of it bears the proofs of strong, independent, and original thought. Whoever thinks at all on his own moral nature, or on the destiny of mankind, will read it with deep interest, and find much in it to prompt inquiry, to warm his heart, and guide his thoughts.

The object of this Essay, as stated in the Preface, is, "to show that mankind collectively, or Society, was destined to grow from infancy to maturity in the same way as individuals are, and that the due consideration of this truth explains the origin of moral evil, the cause of its prevalence under varied forms and extent, and the means of its cure;" and also to consider "as connected with the actual progress of society, the means of its *education*, provided by Divine Providence, in the different revelations he has given to mankind. These were completed, doctrinally, by Christianity; but the world being incapable, at the first promulgation of the Christian religion, to comprehend, still more to practise its lessons, the time had not yet arrived for the actual success of the doctrine; nor has it yet arrived; but the era is approaching."

The author's point of departure is progress. Man does not come into the world full-grown. Individually and collectively, he is designed by Providence to pass from rude and feeble beginnings, to maturity, to the strength and perfection of which

he is capable. Knowledge and virtue are to be acquired, — by slow and toilsome effort, — often at the expense of temporary suffering and evil.

The individual and the species are both subject to the same law of developement. In attaining maturity, each passes successively under the dominion of different sets of faculties. In infancy the individual is a mere animal, affected chiefly by the appetites, instincts, and passions of animal life. These are all essentially selfish, having for their object the preservation, nutrition, and health of the individual. To these succeeds the imagination. Under the dominion of the imagination the individual has a great curiosity to learn the causes and the uses of every thing; but he is credulous, particularly charmed with the wonderful, and becomes the easy dupe of every tale that is told him.

The intellectual powers come next in order, and assume, or try to assume, the mastery; but the remains of preceding influences and habits, together with the circumstances, by which the man is surrounded, and which tempt or compel him to fight his way through the world, prevent this mastery from being complete, often from being even predominant. Under the reign of the Intellect, the follies and prejudices of childhood and youth are surmounted, knowledge and strength are gained, but not wisdom and happiness. There remains another set of faculties to be developed, — the moral sentiments. These are last in order; their predominance constitutes the maturity, the perfection of human nature, and gives moral wisdom, which is the proper attribute of age.

Society comes under each of these different sets of faculties in the same order. The infancy of society is the savage state, in which the animal passions predominate as in children. Savages are wholly occupied with the means of self-preservation, and the gratification of their natural appetites and instincts. The next epoch in social progress is marked by the predominance of the imagination. This is the age of superstition. The imagination, usurping the prerogative of reason, attempts to account for all the phenomena of nature by its own conceits. Whatever is extraordinary it imputes to some mysterious influence; it peoples the world with imaginary beings, — some above, some below men, some good, some bad, — who are for ever interfering with the affairs of mankind, and with the ordinary course or general laws of nature; and, when

it has exhausted itself with these fanciful creations, it resorts to the supposed influence of occult qualities, of charms, and of magic. Under a more seductive form, it gives rise to the fables of the poets and to the sublime reveries of the Platonic and Oriental philosophies.

Childhood and youth cannot comprehend the reason of their duties, they must therefore be commanded. They must be governed by *authority*, and the rule of their duty is *obedience*. The social epochs, which correspond to childhood and youth in the individual, require, therefore, a different code from that which may be introduced at a more advanced stage of society. They find their moral expression in the code of authority, which appeals, not to conviction, nor to love, but to *fear*, and, in cases of obstinacy, resorts to *force*.

To the imagination succeeds the predominance of the intellect. This epoch begins by "chopping logic," attempting, by dint of syllogisms and hypotheses, to penetrate the secrets of nature, or to illustrate the teachings of Divine Revelation, and ends by hitting upon the true method of philosophizing, of which Bacon is the representative; but which can be successfully followed in this epoch, only in the department of physics. The intellect, being in advance of the imagination, requires a more perfect moral code. It demands the code of justice, which finds its expression in law, a rule of right between equals. This code, at first, like that of authority, appeals to fear, and resorts to force; but, after its precepts come to be established in the reason and the habits of men, they are voluntarily obeyed, and its appeal may be said to be to honor.

The fourth epoch,—the golden age of the poets, which however, was not in the infancy of the world, but which shall be in the latter day,—is to come. We are now in a state of *transition* from the age of matured intellect to that of mature wisdom or moral sentiment, with more of the former element as yet, than of the latter, and more occupied with the laws of nature than with those of humanity, but ready to pass to the last stage, which is analogous to that of experienced age in the individual. In this last stage, however, the wisdom of society will rise superior to that of individuals. It will not be tarnished by any of the physical infirmities incidental to individual life. It will not be deteriorated by the personal bad habits of former years. All the evils of former gen-

erations may, and will, die with them, — all the good may and will survive; because their posterity will have acquired the wisdom to reject the one and to cherish the other, — to profit by the experience, knowledge, and accumulations of their fathers.

This social epoch will have for its moral expression the code of benevolence. The precepts of this code may be easily distinguished from those of authority, or of justice. Authority commands, and the one commanded has no right to ask why he shall obey; justice says, Do no wrong to others, submit to no wrong from them. But this cannot be the maxim of a definitive state of society. It is liable to perpetual misconstruction. We may think we are doing no wrong to others, when we are doing them great wrong; and we may believe others are doing us a wrong which we should redress, when they are not. It will always make a great difference in our estimate of any particular action, whether it be done to us, or by us to others. All efforts to obtain a perfect state of society by the rules of justice must prove ineffectual, because the rules themselves are imperfect. Something higher and broader is demanded. This will be found in the code of benevolence, which says, Do *more* than justice to others, submit to *less* than justice from them. This, on the one hand, requires us to *forgive* those who injure us, and, on the other, to inquire, not what others may claim from us as a matter of right, but what good we are able to do them.

This is the natural order of individual and social progress; but it is not effected by man's unaided powers. The child is set forward by the education it receives from the father; so is society by Divine Revelation, designed to educate, not the individual merely, but the species. Revelation, like education, does not seek to supersede the natural powers, but to develope and strengthen them. Education must regard the age and capacities of its subject, at first give the most simple and easy, and gradually proceed to the more complex and difficult; so God does not communicate all truth at once, but gives it in different portions, at different times, as the wants and capacities of society demand or allow. His object in all his revelations is to prepare men for the reign of benevolence. To this end the whole series of revelations points from that made to our first parents in Eden to that made through Jesus Christ. The first revelation was of the simple elements of religion and natu-

ral science, and the last was of that sublime code of morals destined to govern the last epoch of society. Between these two, society had received all the great truths of natural religion and the precepts of justice; the object of Jesus, who closed the series of revelations, was not, therefore, to reveal any new religious doctrines, nor to give any new sanctions to the precepts of justice, but to introduce and establish the moral code of benevolence. The peculiarity of the Gospel, then, is in its morality, in the fact, that it bases morality, not on fear nor honor, not on authority nor justice, but on LOVE. —"Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself."

We have here given but a meagre outline of this very interesting Essay; but we cannot give a fuller analysis of it, without exceeding our limits. We may add, however, that the developement of the system we have sketched, exhibits the marks of a master. The limitations which some of the general principles require, and which we have not room to notice, are in most cases stated; and the objections which may occur, are in general taken up and satisfactorily answered. We would mention especially that brought against the triumph of benevolence, from the supposed inherent depravity of human nature. It is admitted that man brings into the world with him the seeds of evil, but it is contended that he also brings with him the seeds of good. That he is subject in some degree to error and liable to sin, is not denied; but he has also the capacity to feel and act liberally, and may be brought under the dominion of benevolence. The position that its morality is the only peculiarity of the Gospel, is supported with much earnestness and strength of argument, and the causes which have aided or retarded its progress, are treated with great ability. Nearly two thirds of the Essay are taken up with these, and evince a patience of research, a philosophical candor, and a Christian tenderness in discussing opinions which are deemed false and mischievous, that cannot be too much commended. That the author is always correct, that he gives to all opinions and events their true influences, or that he always assigns them their true origin, is more than we are willing to assert. We have noticed, in the perusal of his work, a number of points, mostly subordinate matters, on which we should disagree with him; but when he errs, he, for the most part, sheds a light that will enable others to correct him.

But, however much we might object to some things in the work which we have introduced, and which we commend to

our readers, we are happy to agree entirely with its general theory. That society has a growth analogous to that of the individual; that Christianity, as well as all other revelations, was designed to aid that growth; that its morality is the only peculiarity of the Gospel; that its morality is based on benevolence, and forms a code under which the whole human race must ultimately pass, — is our fixed belief, and has long since been ranked by us with those truths which we make our governing principles of action.

In a former article we spoke of the progress which Christianity has effected. We advanced the doctrine of the Essay before us, that mankind collectively has a growth precisely analogous to that of the individual. This is a doctrine which enables us to recall the past without wrath or bitterness. All past social institutions have had and fulfilled their mission. They are not to be tried by the present, but by that epoch in the progress of society to which they belonged. Tried by this standard, most of the institutions which we now condemn, will be found to have been good in their day, and the evil which is charged against them belonged, not to their origin, but resulted from their lingering too long, from their outliving their time.

Judaism is almost infinitely below Christianity, viewed either as a social or as a religious system; but who will contend that Judaism was a bad institution in its day? It was adapted to its age and country, and was better for that age and country than Christianity would have been. Christianity would have been too pure and spiritual to be comprehended. It could not have reached the consciences of the people upon whom Judaism was to act, and would have been to them only a system of license. Despotism, justly abhorred by all free men, was in its origin a victory achieved by humanity. The condition of those who live under the severest despotism, is preferable to that of those savage hordes who submit to no authority but that of an extemporary chief, chosen to lead them to war or plunder. There is no society in the savage state; there is aggregation, but not society. The elements of society are indeed there, for they belong to human nature; but they are isolated, and for the most part inoperative. But under a despotism, there is society, — rude, imperfect, we admit; still it is society, with its look upward, and its step, slow indeed, but onward.

Similar remarks might be made of all other systems of religion, of government, of legislation, and of philosophy which have reigned in the past. None of them, perhaps, would be good now, because we are in advance of the respective epochs of their usefulness; but in the time and country when and where they were adopted, they were salutary reforms, important victories gained by the progress of society. Each of them, if compared with its predecessor, will be found to have been a forward step in the march of improvement. That they were all imperfect, nobody who comprehends them will deny; but they were as perfect as their respective stages of social progress would admit. It is impossible to give to the child the perfect notions of things which become the man; so is it impossible to give to the infancy of society those perfect social institutions which are suitable only to its full age; or, if we could, it would be like clothing the infant in the dress of a full-grown man.

But, if we acquit the past, we must not forget the duty of the present. We must neither feel nor act as if all progress was ended, and man had attained all the perfection of which he is capable. There is to be a progress through all the future, as there has been one through all the past; but the future progress must always be elaborated in the present. The child prepares the youth, the youth prepares the man; and in like manner this generation must prepare its successor, and that must prepare the one to come after it. The duty of the present, then, is great; its position is one of great consequence; it can act on all future time, and hasten or retard, in some degree, the progress of society through all coming generations. It will discharge its duty very much in proportion to its estimate of itself and its hopes for the future. If it be satisfied with itself, or if it believe that nothing better is possible, its exertions will be feeble, and its contributions to future progress will be hardly worth naming. For ourselves, we believe the present greatly superior to whatever has gone before it; but it does not satisfy us. We do not declaim against it, we attempt to comprehend it; we contemplate it with gratitude to God, but it does not come up to our idea of good. There flit across our mental vision the shadows, at least, of something immeasurably better.

That all will agree with us in our estimate of the present, or in our hopes for the future, is more than we expect. Men's

notions of society are much influenced by the position from which they view it. He who is at ease himself, rich, enjoying ample leisure, and associating only with the most favored individuals in the community, will call society as it is, very nearly, if not quite, perfect; he will be prone to forget, or not to suspect, the vast amount of suffering that lies beyond him; and, unless perchance he has learned something more of Christianity than its dogmas, he will be very liable to look upon the manual laborer, not as a fellow immortal, with rights, duties, interests, and feelings, sacred as his own, but as a mere instrument of his wealth or pleasure, made to be used for his service, and sufficiently provided for if fed and clothed and comfortably lodged. It will be difficult for him to comprehend any measures taken to benefit the working men as a class, and any interest shown in their behalf will seem to him to flow from a Jacobinical spirit, or from an over-refined sentimentalism. But the poor man who trudges daily to his toil, feeling himself hardly more respected than an implement of husbandry, and able, with all his exertions, barely to keep his wife and children from starving, will believe society as it is, very imperfect; he will call this a bad world, and hard and bitter thoughts will pass through his mind, as he gazes on the palace of the rich, or sees its lordly owner roll by him in his carriage.

We do not censure or approve either. The views of both are natural, if not inevitable, if we take into the account their respective positions. The guinea often slips between men's eyes and the truth; and, from not seeing the truth, it is very natural that they should come to deny it. For ourselves, we share fully the views of neither of the two individuals we have introduced as the representatives of the two extremes of society. It has been our lot to see society on more than one side. Indeed we have seen it on all sides. We know what it can give, and what it requires to be endured, and we say again, it does not satisfy us. We cannot avoid dreaming, — if dreaming it prove to be, — of something greatly its superior. We see endured by all classes a vast amount of evil, to which we cannot reconcile our love of humanity. We see noble energies misdirected, false modes of judging adopted, factitious distinctions to obtain and be defended. All over the world, even in its most favored portions, there is an inequality in wealth, in moral, intellectual, and social advantages, which we believe wholly inconsistent with the full

exercise of Christian love. Everywhere one part of our fellow beings are wasting away in luxury, indolence, listlessness, and dissipation; and another part pining in want and neglect, devoured by discontent and envy; and when we see this, we can call it neither good nor necessary. We ask that it may be cured, and we turn to the future with full faith that it will be.

But, in expressing ourselves thus decidedly against the present and in favor of the future, we would guard against being misinterpreted. We are not among those who believe society, as it is now organized, is radically wrong. Its roots are in human nature itself, and a society radically different cannot be obtained till we procure another human nature. We would not destroy present society; we see in it the germs of all that we desire should be; but we would carry it forward to its perfection. The work, in which we would enlist the friends of humanity, is one of improvement, not of destruction.

In speaking against inequality, we do not propose that all the members of the community should be in precisely the same condition. This is not a world in which all things and all men can be reduced to one dead level. The Creator everywhere delights to put himself forth in variety, and it is variety that makes up the charm of life. Life were a dull scene, were we all in precisely the same condition, of precisely the same size, and of precisely the same way of thinking and feeling. Better, far better, were all the storms and tempests which rage from the greatest inequality, than such a dead and deadening calm. Were such a state of uniformity, of monotony, once brought about, gone were all our enterprise, all motives to exertion, all hopes of further progress; society would be dead, and would rot, as it is said the ocean does when the long calm has hushed the tide and the wave on its bosom.

There are different classes in the community, and there always will be, so long as there shall be a diversity in men's natural gifts or in the business of society. But diversity is not inequality. The shoemaker differs from the blacksmith; but he is not, because he is a shoemaker, necessarily inferior or superior to the blacksmith. A division of labor is undoubtedly necessary to civilization and to the progress of society, but this says nothing in favor of inequality. The arguments usually adduced to prove that inequality is an essential element in civilization, merely prove the advantages of a diversity in men's talents and of a division of labor. We see a necessity for

different classes, but none for a *subordination* of classes. We know not why the mechanic, or even the common day-laborer, should not, so far as his trade or occupation is concerned, claim equality with any member of the community; and certainly we cannot understand the justice of excluding him from any of the means of becoming, so far as his native talents admit, a great and a good man. There should be nothing in labor to degrade the laborer, or to operate to his disadvantage. Whatever is necessary to be done, should be counted, not only honest, but honorable. No man should be estimated by his employment or his social position, but by what he is in himself, independent of all adventitious circumstances whatever; and the means of moral and intellectual growth, so far as society can furnish them, should be within the reach of the humblest as well as the proudest member of the community.

But we are willing to admit, because we believe it true, that mankind are not and cannot be equal. Men are born with equal rights, but not with equal capacities. All have the elements of the same nature, but these elements are more developed in some than in others. Some will be leaders, others will only follow. Go into any family or school, when the external circumstances are as nearly equal as possible, and you will find some one who is the leader, some two or three who arrange and control the play and the pleasures of all the rest. Nature has given us an aristocracy, though it has left its particular character, under a certain aspect, to accident. When war is deemed the business and the glory of society, the best warriors, heroes, constitute the aristocracy; when religion fills men's minds and hearts, the ministers of religion, priests, are the aristocrats, or, to borrow a Saint-Simonian expression, the chiefs of the people; when learning is the public passion, the aristocracy is based on literature, as it is said to be now in China; when wealth is counted the supreme good, and money-getting the chief end of man, the accumulators of wealth, business men, are the aristocrats, the leaders of mankind. In a word, the aristocracy is always based on the spirit of the age or country, and composed of those who best represent that spirit.

But against this, which we consider the order of nature, the appointment of God, we have nothing to urge. It is a wise and beneficent appointment, and would involve no evil, if the aristocracy were based, as it one day will be, on the morality

of the Gospel, and composed of those who best represent the spirit of Jesus. Some, even then, would be greater than the rest, but there would be no subordination of classes, no exclusive privileges, no monopoly of social advantages. All would have the same object, be in the same path, and engaged in the same work. If some received a higher reward than others, it would be only relatively higher; compared with his capacity, no one would receive more than another, and each would receive in proportion to his capacity to enjoy. It would be in that case an aristocracy of real virtue; an aristocracy taking the lead in true excellence. Give us such an aristocracy and we will fall contentedly into our rank; and, if there are many above us, we will adopt the sentiment of the old Grecian patriot, who, on losing an election, rejoiced that his country had three hundred better men than himself.

We admit then an original inequality in men's capacities; we believe that the Almighty has established an aristocracy; but this is something very different from admitting, that all the distinctions and their attendant evils, which now obtain in society, are of Divine appointment. They are the natural, but not the necessary, result of the original inequality in men's capacities. A man may sow tares in his field; if he does, they will grow there as naturally as wheat, and grow too by a law of God; but the law of God does not compel a man to sow tares instead of wheat. If the aristocracy be based on any thing else than Christian morality, it will occasion more or less of evil; but this is because the aristocracy rests upon a wrong foundation, bears a wrong character. Now, unless we are prepared to say that God has ordained that the aristocracy shall rest upon that wrong foundation, bear that wrong character, — and to say it would be virtually saying that he ordains all sin, — we must abandon the notion that all the distinctions and the evils consequent upon them, which obtain in society, are of Divine appointment.

But, in charging them upon the aristocracy, we have not traced them to their origin. The aristocracy does not make the people, but the people the aristocracy. Show us your people, and we will tell you who are your aristocrats. They are those who represent the spirit of their times and country the best of all their contemporaries. In censuring them we censure the predominant spirit of their epoch, a spirit which controls the lowest as well as the highest. The aristocracy

then is not alone in fault. It but shares a common error. The whole people, individual exceptions of course, are wrong, and the evil complained of can be cured only by infusing a better spirit into the whole mass of society.

The aristocracy of our country is based on wealth. The accumulators of wealth are our leaders. But why are they so? These are leaders only by virtue of a spirit in those to be led, which responds to the spirit in those who would lead. Did we not all love wealth, bow to it, cringe to it, — the poor even more than the rich, — and estimate a man's worth by the length of his purse, wealth could create no aristocracy amongst us. Were the great mass of our population able to say with him, in the Revolution, to whom the British commissioners offered a large sum to desert the cause of his country, "Tell your master, I am poor, but the King of England is not rich enough to buy me," wealth would have no power over us. But so long as we make it the god, at whose shrine we pay our devotions, it will govern us, and our leaders will be those who engage in its accumulation with the greatest energy and success.

But we have extended these remarks, designed to prevent us from being misapprehended by our readers, too far. We return to the duty of the present in relation to the future. This duty is to labor for the future progress of society. We do not stop to prove that society may be carried forward to greater perfection than that to which it has now attained. There are few who cannot form to themselves an *ideal* vastly superior to it. That ideal will be realized. God has not given us the capacity to form to ourselves loftier and yet loftier ideals, merely to mock us with our impotence. The power of execution may, indeed, fall short of the power of conception; but both can grow, and the growth of one always strengthens the other. Progress there will be. The loftiest ideals of the most gifted of men will be realized. Man is made for a higher destiny than he has yet attained. And he will attain it. That is written. But how? What are the principles by which he should be governed in his efforts to do it? This is the question to be answered; and to answering this question we shall devote the remainder of this article.

Our hope for the future progress of society is not exclusively, nor mainly, in government. This is the age of political economy; the point of view of most of those who would

be reformers is political. And their hope is in the action of government upon the masses. The agency of government in the progress of society is not to be overlooked; but it belongs not to government to take the initiative. Government is the creature, not the creator, of any particular state of society; and its mission is to collect, concentrate, and facilitate the operation of the spirit of a people.

All social reforms must be the effect of individual reform. Any change in the public institutions of a country, not demanded by a corresponding change in the individual character of those whose opinions can influence government, will be injurious instead of salutary. Joseph the Second of Germany attempted some reforms in his empire,—reforms which could have proceeded only from a sincere regard for the well-being of his subjects; but, being mistimed, they miscarried, and served merely to disturb the peace of his reign, to increase the prejudice against innovation, and to retard the cause he had so much at heart. Declare a race of ignorant, degraded slaves, free, and your declaration will not make them free; give them all the forms of a republican government, with all the guarantee of the most clearly defined constitutions, and they will not be less slaves, and slaves with the disadvantage of being in want of a master to keep them in order. Vain are all the forms of a free government, where freedom is not in the hearts and the habits of the people, as individuals.

A notion has prevailed to some extent, and, perhaps, is not yet wholly abandoned, that man is the creature of external circumstances, and that any given description of character may be produced by a proper modification of external circumstances. Government, as having the most control over external circumstances, has, therefore, been considered the great agent of reform. The whimsical, but philanthropic Owen has pushed this theory to its last results, and thus furnished the means of its refutation. It is a theory which springs from a sensual and superficial philosophy, a philosophy that overlooks the most important element of human nature, man's power to originate action of himself, by his own internal energy. Man acts upon circumstances, as well as they upon him; and it depends mainly on him, whether they control him, or he them. Were it not so, were he indeed a spinning-jenny, then we admit that the modification of external circumstances might make him a spinning-jenny of the most approved fashion.

It was thought at one time, that a free government could go alone, that it had some magic-working power by which it could at once convert the rudest materials into polished stones for its social edifice. Experience is correcting this error, as it will correct many others. We are beginning to perceive that it is not a free government that makes a free people, but a free people that makes a free government. No people will be more free, wise, or just, in its collective capacity, than it is in its individual capacity. What is called the collective wisdom of a nation, when it speaks through public institutions, is only a compromise between the most and the least advanced of the individuals of which it is composed. It is only an average of the wisdom of private individuals. If some fall below it, others rise above it. The wisest and best men of a nation are always in advance of the government. Government cannot come up to their ideal without losing sight of the many. The wise and the good must labor to bring the many up to their ideal, and in proportion, and only in proportion, as they do it, may government advance.

We admit, however, that government is a powerful agent in the progress of society. It has done much, and we trust it will do much more; but it is not omnipotent. It must bend to the spirit of the people. Could we get a legislature mad enough to enact a community of goods or an equal division of property, their enactment could not become a law. It is not the legislature, nor the court, nor the sheriff and his *posse*, that can give to a legislative act the power of law. It is the spirit of the people on whom it is to operate. Look at our people, with a strong sense of property, appreciating to its full extent the value of the *meum*, and do you believe they would submit to a community of goods, or to an equal division of property? Or suppose a statute limiting the amount of property which may be held, could it become a law? Every business man in the community would trample it under foot; or if not, every species of fraud would be resorted to, for evading it and concealing the amount of property actually possessed. Where such a statute could become a law, it would not be needed, for there the love of wealth would not be too strong. That the love of wealth is too strong in our own country, as well as in many others, is true; that it is the source of many evils is also true; but the remedy

is not in legislation, not in government, but in calling into exercise a higher and a purer principle of action.

This purer and higher principle must be sought in the Gospel of Jesus Christ. In our efforts to effect the future progress of society we must be guided solely by the principles of Christian morality. There is no way to carry society forward to its perfection but by making its individual members good Christians. We know that some will smile at this answer. No matter. It is possible that we have given as much of study, brought as great a love of humanity, and as strong a desire for progress, to the problem we have proposed, as those who will smile in contempt at the solution we have offered.

We repeat it; — the grand lever of reform, the mighty power that is to carry society forward to its perfection, is Christian morality. In making this assertion, we do not plunge into the arena of theological warfare, we touch not the field from which ascend the battle-shouts of conflicting sectarians; we rise to higher and broader ground, and plant our footsteps, not on the dogmas of the Gospel, but on its simple, sublime, and universal morality. We leave the dogmas about which theologians wrangle; they have their truth, have had their use, but they do not constitute the peculiarity of the Gospel. They are nowhere made, by the Author of the Gospel, the direct object of his instructions. Even the doctrine of the Divine unity, great and glorious as we view it, although recognised by Jesus, is never recognised as one that he was sent to teach, but as one already known and believed. The same remark is true of the doctrine of a future state of existence. Jesus alludes to it, but not as a doctrine of his own, whose revelation made a part of his mission; he assumes it, illustrates it, and makes use of it to enforce his morals, but does not make it an object of direct instruction. When questioned respecting it, he refers the interrogator to a previous revelation. It is the same with all the great doctrines of theology. We say not that they are not true, are not important, but they had been revealed previously to the coming of Christ, and needed not to be revealed again.

We assert without fear of denial from any one who has made this a subject of distinct investigation, that all the great theological doctrines, properly so called, which are connected with Christianity and considered essential to it, were known

and believed at the time of our Saviour. The unity of God, it is well known, was a distinguishing doctrine of Judaism. We meet in the Old Testament, also, the doctrine of God's paternity, and distinct intimations of his sin-pardoning character. It is true, God's justice reigns in Judaism, but his mercy is also there. "Let the wicked forsake his way, and the unrighteous man his thoughts; and let him return unto the Lord, and he will have mercy upon him; and to our God, for he will abundantly pardon." (Isaiah lv. 7.) There may be some question, whether the Jews, in the time of Moses, believed in a future state and a righteous retribution after death; but there can be none that they, or at least a portion of them, believed in both long before the birth of Jesus. Socrates and Plato certainly believed in a life to come; and indeed no people have ever yet been discovered, of whom it could be said with certainty, that they did not believe in some kind of a life beyond this life. The most savage tribes have their land of shadows, their world of spirits, where are their fathers, and where they hope to rejoin them when they die. How men came to the knowledge of these doctrines, whether naturally or supernaturally, by a deduction of reasoning, by the unfolding of a law of their own nature, or by a direct communication from God himself, we do not now inquire. It is sufficient for our present purpose, that they were known before the coming of Christ. This we assert. They may all be found in religions existing before the Gospel was given, if not in precisely the Christian form, at least the same in their elements, in their foundation.

It is important that we do not forget this. We believe in the originality of the Gospel; but if the Gospel be asserted to be the revelation of a mere system of theology, its originality remains to be proved. Its originality, and its only peculiarity, in our opinion, is in its morality. We find its theology, at least "for substance of doctrine," elsewhere; but nowhere else its morality. We find in one place a morality based on selfishness; in another, one like the Jewish, "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth," based on justice; but nowhere one on the broad, omnipotent, and indestructible principle of love. This is peculiar to the Gospel, this distinguishes it by broad lines from all other religions, and this, and this alone, is the direct object of its instructions. Nothing else is taught in that simple and sublime Sermon on the Mount; and, when Jesus

alludes to the love of our heavenly Father for his children, it is to deduce from it motives for them to love one another. His leading object, whether taken from his own words or from the commentaries of his Apostles, obviously was to establish the reign of love or benevolence. His first words were, "Repent for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." The "kingdom of heaven" and the "kingdom of God" mean precisely the same thing; and by the kingdom of God, we must understand the reign of God. God is love; the reign of God, then, is the reign of love. God reigns in that heart where love reigns. He dwells there. "He that dwelleth in love," says John, "dwelleth in God and God in him." Jesus expressly declares, that the new commandment he gave, or the addition he had come to make to the reigning code of morals, was that his disciples should love one another. "A new commandment give I unto you, that ye love one another; as I have loved you, that ye also love one another. By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one towards another." Now that which should distinguish the disciples, as the disciples of Christ, must be considered the peculiarity of what he taught. This was love one to another; and this, we think, fully authorizes our assertion, that the peculiarity of the Gospel was in basing its morality on love, or benevolence.

This "love one to another," which Jesus enjoined, was not a narrow love, to be shut up within the inclosure of his professed followers. It was the broad principle of universal philanthropy. "Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour and hate thine enemy; but I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you, that ye may be the children of your Father who is in heaven; for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and the unjust." It is not then a meagre system of morals that the Gospel enjoins. Its principles extend beyond the outward act, beyond the narrow circle of our friends or our own sect; they go deep into the heart, and quicken a love for universal man. They command us to love one another, to love even our enemies, as well as Christ loved us; that is, well enough, if need be, to die for our fellow beings as Christ died for us. Here lies our hope, in this grand principle of

love to man, and we expect the progress of society only in proportion as men come to love one another better.

Existing social evils have their cause. What is that cause? Say, with our radical politicians, that it is in bad government, and the question is only removed one step, not answered. What is the cause of bad government? If it be in the depravity of rulers, whence that depravity? "They are chosen from the wrong class," say our workingmen; "they should be chosen from our ranks, and then they would take care of our interests, and, if our interests were taken care of, all social evils would vanish." Perhaps so. We have great tenderness for the workingmen; we have mourned over their depressed condition, and we rejoice to see them making efforts to elevate themselves to the social rank to which they are entitled; but we have no great respect for their moral or political philosophy. Admit that all the officers of government were taken from the working classes, or from those who really and prëeminently have their interests at heart; and does it necessarily follow that the interests of those classes would always be promoted? Do the workingmen never mistake their own interests in their private capacity? Who will assure us, then, that they may not mistake it, in acting in a public capacity? And is this the way to cure the evils of society, to have every man and every class pursue his or its own interest, regardless of that of any other, — to support a system of universal competition? This is the very system now in operation; and we may answer the question, What is the cause of social evils? by saying, It is in the fact that each man, whether rich or poor, is pursuing his own interest, or what he believes his own interest, without regard to that of his fellow. And why does he do this? Because he is selfish, does not love his neighbour as himself. All the social evils of which anybody complains, may be traced to the predominance of the selfish propensities. The standard of morality is too low; men's notions of duty fall infinitely below the Christian standard.

Are we wrong? What is the morality of the world? In its best possible shape, it is "Look out for yourselves; take care of *Number One;* but," it is added in a lower tone, "do no wrong to others." This is all that is aimed at, and more than is accomplished in practice. In practice, the clause spoken in a low tone in theory is sunk, and the maxim runs, "Look out for yourself; keep what you have, and get all you

can." In all the varieties of trade and business transactions, every man means to enrich himself, to make his own end of the bargain as much the best as he can; and, if he makes it a great deal the best, he boasts of it, however much the one with whom he trades may suffer. Such we say is the spirit of trade, the predominant spirit in all business transactions, and with a vast majority of the community, though there are no doubt many honorable individual exceptions.

Now what better is to be expected from this morality, than that which we already have? Here is the morality of self-interest; and, in the monstrous inequality in wealth, in learning, in moral and intellectual culture, which glares upon the stranger on entering this city, we see the best it can effect; and even better than it can effect, for benevolence has been here, and in no city on earth has it been more active. It is in vain to expect any thing better without a higher standard of morality. If we make interest the governing motive, we must expect all individuals and all classes to be governed by their views of it. These views will always be partial and conflicting. The carpenter and the timber-merchant will contend, that all houses should be constructed of wood; the brick-maker and the brick-layer will prefer brick; the fur-cap manufacturers will encourage the wearing of fur caps; but the hatter will complain that in so doing, they injure his business and take, as it were, the bread out of his mouth. All the trades will be mutually opposed, and perpetual clashing must be the result. There is no such thing as reconciling all classes, all the divisions of labor, and making society harmonious without having men aim at something higher than the morality of selfishness.

Existing social evils, we have said, may be traced to the predominance of the selfish propensities; it is evident, then, that we must have recourse to the predominance of the benevolent affections for a cure. The predominance of these is what the Gospel contemplates, and what we mean by the morality of love. Now we love ourselves, if not exclusively, at least chiefly; but the Gospel commands us to love our neighbour as ourselves. Here is a higher principle than selfishness, a broader principle than justice. Selfishness is satisfied when self is provided for; justice contents himself with doing and receiving no wrong; love goes beyond both, and can be satisfied only by doing good,—not by doing

some good, but the greatest good in its power. It does not wrap itself up in itself, but it goes out of itself; with its hands filled with benefits, it goes out into the streets, the lanes, the by-paths, into the humble shed of poverty, and into the loathsome dungeon of the prisoner, to find objects to bless; and it returns not as long as it can find a single human being borne down by a burden too great for his strength, a single tear in a human eye to be dried, a single wounded heart into which it can pour the "oil and wine," or a single bruised spirit that it may bind up.

Such is love. Such is the principle that would reign, were Christian morality predominant. All crimes would fail, all wrongs would cease. There would be no unmitigated poverty, no ostentatious display of wealth to increase the vanity of the possessor and the discontented envy of him that has it not. There would be no *exploitation de l'homme par l'homme*, as the Saint-Simonians happily express the reigning vice of the past; no encroaching; no turning of one's superior knowledge to one's own exclusive advantage, but to supplying the deficiencies of others; trade would become, what it should be, the mutual exchange of benefits; everywhere would reign peace, harmony, and joy; man would give his heart and his hand to his brother, and society would present a picture on which even God himself might look with approbation.

Such were society, were love once to become predominant, to run through all our actions, and to preside over all the intercourse of man with man. "*Were it* predominant, — ay, were it," it is said; "but it is not, it *cannot* be. Men are selfish, each one for himself, no one for his brother, and it is folly to expect that all will come under the influence of the law of love." We have heard this objection to our hopes of future progress, at least in substance, in the humble shed of poverty, in the palaces of the rich, in the shop of the mechanic, in the fields of the agriculturist, behind the counter of the merchant, in the halls of legislation, from the bar, the bench, and the pulpit; but we dare not give utterance to the outraged feelings with which we have always heard it. We never hear it but with deep abhorrence. Let it never proceed from the lips of a professed disciple of Jesus. Whoever thou art, if thou hast no more faith in human virtue, no more faith in the power of human nature to come under the government of the pure and godlike principle of love, than this objection implies, blush to

enter the pulpit, to speak in the name of one whose disciples are to be known only by having "love one towards another," in the name of one who commands all men to love even their enemies, and whose avowed object was to turn men from their iniquities, to bring them to God, and to make them perfect as their Father in heaven is perfect!

Do we use strong language? We know it, and we mean it. The interests of religion, of humanity, demand it; and he who does not bring out the great principle of the Gospel, and insist in strong terms on its being admitted, preached, and obeyed, seems to us to fail in his duty to God and to man. He is a poor missionary, who begins by saying to those to whom he addresses himself, "My brethren, the religion I bring you is an excellent thing. Its morality is of the purest and most elevated character. If obeyed it would have the most happy effect; but then you must not be so foolish as to suppose it generally practicable. A few gifted individuals alone can ever come under its influences; the great mass of mankind can never be governed by it." Suppose one of our missionaries to the Indians should thus address his heathen audience, and what would be the influence of his preaching? what the answer that would be returned him? "Go back to your own country; if your Gospel morality is impracticable, why come ye here to disturb our minds and the state of our society by proclaiming it?" Or, if he should not tell them that it is impracticable, if he should so feel, with what success would he preach? Would he be likely to speak in those earnest and thrilling tones, which go to the heart and the conscience, fasten conviction and lead to reformation? He who would go forth to convert the world should go in faith; he should believe what he preaches, and not only believe it true, but practicable.

The question between us and those who urge the objection we are considering is not, whether we are visionaries, dreaming of social perfection which can never be realized, but, whether the Gospel be or be not a practicable scheme of morals. We throw ourselves upon the Gospel. We have stated its morality, and what would be the social result, were it obeyed. Nobody, who reflects a moment, will accuse us of misstating that morality, or pretend that our inferences are illegitimate. There is, then, no escape for the objector but in arraigning the Gospel itself. The blow with which he

would demolish us, he must reserve for our Master. Was Jesus a visionary, preaching a morality which only a few, if indeed any can practise; or did he proclaim a moral law adapted to universal human nature, and consequently one which all men have the power to obey? This is the question. To this question we wait a reply, leaving the objector to settle it with one who "needed not that any should testify of man, for he knew what was in man."

We are aware that we have presented the subject in a light in which it is not usually contemplated; but we are confident that we have presented it in its true light. We believe that one great reason why the Christian ministry has not been more efficient, is, that it has not had full faith in the practicability of the Gospel morality. It has, we own, labored with great diligence and fidelity in its calling; but it has often left the people where it found them,—dead in a worldly policy, or consumed by a crackling fanaticism or an unmeasured zeal for dogmas of faith. It has had no just conception of the extent of the morality it was called to preach, and of course no belief in its practicability or in the state of society which it was destined to introduce. It has therefore been unable to speak as its Master spoke; its words have been powerless, and its tones lifeless. It could not go to the people in the fulness of faith, and consequently it could not adopt the tone and manner of reality, which alone can make a preacher successful.

We mean not to apply these remarks to the Christian ministry in its relation to religious dogmas. These have been believed, and at times so believed that the idea of proving them could not find admittance into the head of him who preached them. They have been to the preacher, not opinions, but realities; and when they have been so, he has spoken with power and fastened conviction. But it was not a moral conviction. No man has yet gone forth and preached the great law of love as the peculiarity of the Gospel, and preached it in full faith of its universal obligation and practicability; for it has not yet been so believed, except by here and there an individual. But those who do not so believe, are so far unbelievers in the Gospel, and in their influence in some respects the most fatal class of unbelievers. Here is the call for reform. Men must be brought to believe the Gospel; not its theology, for that the majority of the civilized world already believe, but its morality.

We do not make these remarks to condemn the past, nor to censure the present, but to point out what is our duty for the future. There is a time for all things. We know that men move slowly, and that the progress of ideas is like that of the apparent motion of the sun; we cannot see the sun move, but, after a while, we see that it has moved. We do not complain, because the great truth for which we contend has not been brought out distinctly before. It required time to wear out the old morality, to exhaust theological discussions, and to fix the basis of our ever progressing religious theory. That is now done, and the epoch has arrived for extending our views, and making the exclusively theological element, with which the religious world has been engaged for so many ages, give place to the moral element, which alone constitutes the peculiarity of the Gospel. The Christian world is now distracted, torn into contending sects, and exhibiting a spectacle saddening to the hearts of all the real friends of humanity. These sects must be brought together, these alienated hearts must be united, and these scattered and inoperative elements must be brought into one grand and complete whole. But this cannot be done by any system of theology whatever. It can be done only by striking a chord which shall vibrate alike through all moral nature. We can do it only by a new and a higher view of Christian morality. We have cleared away the rubbish of a false and mischievous theology; we have brought men back, at least in theory, to the simple doctrines inculcated in Scripture, to those which are based on everlasting truth, which are in perfect harmony with man's intellectual nature, those on which Jesus based his morality; and now we must bring out that morality, and hold it up to the admiration and love of all hearts.

The first step to this is to comprehend the extent of that morality, and to obtain the conviction of its practicability. We have said that it is the law of love, a law that requires us to love one another as Christ loved us, that is, well enough, if need be, to die for our fellow beings as Christ died for us. This is the principle of Christian morality. It is, we believe, practicable. Jesus preached it, commanded his disciples to preach it to "every creature," and that too without ever intimating that all men could not obey it. Let the preacher, when he reads the discourses of Jesus to his congregation, when he calls upon his hearers to love God with all the heart,

mind, and strength, and their neighbours as themselves, catch the meaning of what he utters, and he will want no arguments to prove that men can "have that mind in them which was also in Christ Jesus;" and, when he comes once to believe that they can, he will speak with such firm persuasion of the truth of what he utters, that "his words will be with power." Let him comprehend his mission, and its grandeur will waken all the higher and better principles of his soul, kindle up a moral enthusiasm that will carry him through every difficulty, and make him mighty in the work of turning men's hearts to God. This is what is implied by the ministerial office. It is a practical answer to the objection brought against our hopes; and, till men will admit, that the preacher is inducted into his office to preach an impracticable scheme of morals, we shall consider a further answer, at least to professed Christians, as unnecessary.

ART. VI — *An Inquiry into the Accordancy of War with the Principles of Christianity; and an Examination of the Philosophical Reasoning by which it is defended; with Observations on the Causes of War and some of its Effects.* By JONATHAN DYMOND. With a Dedication to Sunday-School Teachers and Scholars, and Notes, by THOMAS SMITH GRIMKÉ, of Charleston, South Carolina. Together with an Appendix, containing Extracts from several of his Writings vindicating or illustrating the Principles of Peace. Philadelphia. J. Ashmead & Co. 1834. 12mo. pp. xx. and 300.

"I was ashamed," said Ezra, in recapitulating the circumstances of his emigration from the land of his captivity, "I was ashamed to require of the king a band of soldiers and horsemen to help us against the enemy in the way: because we had spoken unto the king, saying, The hand of our God is upon all them for good that seek him, but his power and his wrath is against all them that forsake him." This sublime instance of confidence in the divine protection and promises, though under an imperfect dispensation, has too seldom found

its parallel beneath the light of the Gospel. For the last fifteen centuries, the example of Ezra has been putting to shame the great body of the professed disciples of Christ. They have had too little faith to believe that "the hand of God is upon all them for good that seek him"; and have therefore "required bands of soldiers and horsemen to help them against the enemy in the way." And when the Quakers first appeared, one of the chief grounds on which they were persecuted by their fellow Christians, on which they were whipt, imprisoned, and hung by the Puritans of New England, was that they followed the example of Ezra, and preferred putting their trust in God to trusting in the implements of bloodshed and havock. We cannot but think that they followed the example, breathed the spirit, and obeyed the law, of a greater than Ezra. We cannot but regard all war as entirely opposed to the precepts and the spirit of the Gospel. And this is the view, which we shall present and maintain in the following article. But, while we denounce war as anti-Christian, we do not mean to deny the Christian name and character to all those, who have advocated or conducted wars. There have been some, perhaps many Christian warriors; and so there have been Christian slave-dealers, and there are still some Christian makers and sellers of ardent spirits. With regard to these latter employments, charity readily pronounces the verdict; "The times of ignorance God winked at; but now commandeth all men everywhere to repent." We would cheerfully enter the same verdict with regard to the military profession. But let us, unbiassed by the noble examples of virtue and piety which have confessedly adorned it, view the whole subject in the light of the Gospel.

We maintain the unlawfulness of all war, first, on the ground that it is opposed to the precepts of the New Testament. "Resist or avenge not evil; rather suffer wrong than do wrong; incur fresh insult and injustice, rather than repel insult or injustice by violence," is allowed on all hands to be the literal meaning of the precepts contained in Matthew v. 39–42; nor is there any thing in the context to show that these precepts were designed for the special guidance of the first disciples; but they occur in that portion of the Sermon on the Mount, in which the Saviour's object is most manifestly to develope the spirituality and the fulness of his religion, in contrast with the external and imperfect character of the

Mosaic system. "Love your enemies," says he; and he holds forth as a motive to the discharge of this duty, "That ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven; for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust," — a motive, which from its very nature renders the precept of universal obligation; for it is manifestly every man's duty to do what will render him like his heavenly Father. Now no one will surely pretend that he, who wages war even in a righteous cause, obeys this precept. In the parable of the Samaritan, Jesus bids us regard as our neighbours even those, whom the most bitter national animosity divides from us. Could the Christian warrior contemplate the good Samaritan binding up the wounds of his fallen enemy, and then go his way, and with a good conscience wound or murder on the battle-field his own enemy?

In accordance with the spirit that breathes throughout our Saviour's teachings, are also the Apostolic precepts: "See that none render evil for evil unto any man;" "Avenge not yourselves;" "If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink;" "Overcome evil with good." We all admit the obligation of these precepts, as well as of our Saviour's, upon us in our individual capacity and our social relations. We all are ready to quote them, condemning the murderer, the duellist, the quarrelsome, the revengeful, the implacable, — as requiring forbearance under the greatest personal injuries, forgiveness of the greatest personal wrongs. Now there cannot be two standards of right and wrong, — one for individuals and one for communities; for the public will is but the aggregate of individual wills, and the public conscience is but the expression of the majority of individual consciences. Every man, who participates in a public act does his part of that act individually, and, as an individual, recognises its propriety and justice. He who votes for a retaliatory, revengeful measure, he who gives his voice in favor of recompensing evil for evil to a community or nation, as truly sins against the precepts of the New Testament, as if he lifted his hand in revenge against his next-door neighbour. It cannot be right for bodies of men to do what it is wrong for individuals to do.

But it is said that these precepts of Jesus and the Apostles are not to be interpreted literally, that they are to be modified by the existing habits and circumstances of society. To this

we reply, that they bear no limitation on the face of them, that the terms in which they are written are unqualified and full, and that it was the design and anticipated result of the mission of Jesus Christ to revolutionize the previously existing customs and habits of mankind, to create "a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness." All his precepts were in advance of the age in which he lived, nay even of the present age. Why not modify them all? Why is it not as reasonable to modify the precept, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God," by the habitual worldliness and ingratitude of mankind, as to modify the precept, "Love your enemies," by military institutions and customs? Or why is it more absurd to assert that blasphemy is perfectly consistent with love to God, than to assert that killing our enemies in battle is consistent with love for them? We cannot suppress our unfeigned surprise, that, while so many divines and moralists have taken war under their protection and sought to justify it on Gospel grounds, no one has shown pity to the lovers of gain or of pleasure, and undertaken the equally easy task, perhaps, of so expounding the New Testament as to justify them. There is no limit to the impiety and absurdity, to which we should be led by the principles of interpretation, which the Christian friends of war are compelled to adopt.

Moreover the primitive Christians, who were the most likely to know what was the mind of Christ, generally interpreted his precepts so as to forbid all war. The instances are numerous, in which they suffered martyrdom rather than enlist in the Roman armies. "I am a Christian, and therefore I cannot fight;"—"I cannot fight, but I can die;"—"It is not lawful for a Christian to bear arms for any earthly considerations;"—such were the last words of some of these martyred followers of the Prince of Peace.* The earliest Christian fathers declare in express and strong terms the unlawfulness of war, even in cases where it would seem the most necessary. We cite the following instances of such a declaration from the work, the title of which we have placed at the head of this article.

"Justin Martyr and Tatian talk of soldiers and Christians as distinct characters; and Tatian says that the Christians declined

* See Grimké's Dymond, p. 61.

even military commands. Clemens of Alexandria calls his Christian contemporaries, the 'Followers of Peace,' and expressly tells us, that 'the followers of peace used none of the implements of war.' Lactantius, another early Christian, says expressly, 'It can *never* be lawful for a righteous man to go to war.' About the end of the second century, Celsus, one of the opponents of Christianity, charged the Christians *with refusing to bear arms even in case of necessity.* Origen, the defender of the Christians, does not think of denying the fact; he admits the refusal, and justifies it, *because war was unlawful.* Even after Christianity had spread over almost the whole of the known world, Tertullian, in speaking of a part of the Roman armies, including more than one third of the standing legions of Rome, distinctly informs us, that 'not a Christian could be found amongst them.'" — p. 62.

"Tertullian says; 'Though the soldiers came to John and received a certain form to be observed, yet Jesus Christ, by disarming Peter, disarmed every soldier afterwards; for custom never sanctions any unlawful act.' 'Can a soldier's life be lawful,' says he, in another work, 'when Christ has pronounced, that he who lives by the sword shall perish by the sword? Can any one, who possesses the peaceable doctrine of the Gospel, be a soldier, when it is his duty not so much as to go to law? And shall he, who is not to revenge his own wrongs, be instrumental in bringing others into chains, imprisonment, torture, death?'" — p. 62.

"Irenæus, who lived about Anno 180, affirms, that the prophecy of Isaiah, which declared that men should turn their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks, *had been fulfilled in his time;* 'for the Christians,' says he, 'have changed their swords and their lances into instruments of peace, and *they know not how to fight.*' Justin Martyr, his contemporary, writes, —'That the prophecy is fulfilled, you have good reason to believe, for we, who in times past killed one another, *do not now fight with our enemies.*' Tertullian, who lived later, says, 'You must confess that the prophecy has been accomplished, as far as *the practice of every individual,* to whom it is applicable, *is concerned.*'" — p. 63.

We could quote, did our limits permit, numerous declarations of similar purport from no less than thirteen of the earliest and most eminent Christian Fathers, (including those cited above,) all of whom assert that the precepts of Jesus forbid war, and that his followers had, from the first, resolutely refused to bear arms. It is as certain as any historical fact of that date can be, that, for the first two centuries, Christians in general refused, as such, to become soldiers; and very

numerous are the instances on record, in which even officers of high rank, on becoming Christians, threw down their commissions at once, deeming their profession no longer lawful.* Nor was it till late in the fourth century, when the church had lost its primitive simplicity, and become the ally of tyranny and oppression, that any considerable number of Christians could be found in the ranks of the Roman army; and even then the doctrine of the lawfulness of war had not found its way into the works of Christian writers.

But, if war is opposed to the precepts, it is still more so to the example of Jesus. It must not be forgotten, too, that he was placed in circumstances, in which, had he deemed war in any case justifiable, he might have been expected to advocate one and take the lead in it. His native country was, at the date of his public ministry, groaning under far heavier burdens than our fathers ever felt or feared from British tyranny. Indeed, it was subjected by the Romans to a military occupation and despotism, not unlike that to which Russia subjected the portion of Poland which fell to her share. Now, if it was right for Christian ministers to offer their invocations of wrath and bloodshed over banners to be sent to the insurgent Poles, if it was the duty of Chris-

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[* The distinction here made is recognised by the Fathers of the church. "Even Tertullian himself, the warm opponent of the profession of arms among Christians, did not feel himself authorized altogether to condemn those who, having become Christians while they were soldiers, continued in their old profession, provided it was unattended with any thing which caused them to violate their fidelity as Christians."—*Neander's History of the Christian Religion and Church*, Vol. I. p. 304, who refers here to Tertullian's work, *De Coronâ Militis*, c. xi. Neander also quotes (p. 306) a remarkable passage from Tertullian's *Apologet.* c. xlii., to be explained, perhaps, by reference to the same distinction; where the latter, in defending the early Christians against the charge of being useless citizens, says: "We, therefore, inhabit this world in common with you, and we make use of baths, of shops, workshops, and fairs, and all that is used in the intercourse of life. We also carry on, in common with you, navigation, WAR, agriculture, and trade; we take part in your occupations, and our labor, when needful, we give to the public service." The editors, however, would observe generally, that they must not be held responsible for, nor be considered as going along with, all the reasonings and illustrations contained in this article. They would only say, that on such a subject all but bigots must be willing and glad to hear a strong statement of the argument on either side. — EDD.]

tian ministers and people to foment the war of our revolution, then may we not presume, that it would have been right for the Saviour, nay, his duty, to have lighted the torch of war on the hill-tops of Judea, to have unfurled his banner as a conquering Messiah, to have blasted and destroyed the Roman legions by that miraculous power which healed even Roman diseases; to have cried aloud on the feast-day to the thousands that came up to the temple to worship,—"Up, my countrymen, unsheathe the sword, avenge your invaded liberties, lay the usurper low, deluge your plains with his blood; let *Victory or Death* be your watch-word; it is the cause of God, and I, his annointed Messenger, lead you to conquest." But is there a word of all this? No. He pays tribute to Cæsar, and exhorts his countrymen to do so; he advises and practises a quiet submission and external respect to the powers that be, is ready to bestow his miraculous aid upon the oppressors, and always takes himself out of the way, when there is danger that his presence will give rise to any hostile movement. In fine, he sanctions by his example what it has been fashionable among his professed followers to term the tame, spiritless endurance of injuries. And would it shock, reader, your moral sensibilities to think of your Saviour as a man of violence and blood? Would it do away that tender reverence which you now cherish for his character to know, that, even in what you call a righteous war, he had destroyed human life? Why is it not as much out of character for one of his disciples to be a shedder of blood, a destroyer of life, as it would have been for him? His disciples are commanded to imitate him, and are expressly told, that, if they have not the spirit of Christ, they are none of his. Can a maker or lover of war have his spirit? If he was a peace-maker under circumstances, in which, if ever, war was justifiable, how can his followers fight?

Yet again, the example of Jesus in connexion with his personal enemies merits particular consideration. He never rushes into danger, he often retreats and hides from the malice of his foes; and yet he is able, by a miracle of destruction, at any moment to save himself from their hands. At last, when he can no longer elude their artifices, and the only alternative is to suffer evil or to do evil, he calmly chooses the former, meekly meets the traitor's hollow embrace, bids the angry Peter sheathe his sword, heals the wound that

it had caused, utters not a word of reproach, and dies with a prayer of forgiveness for his murderers on his lips; and all this when he might have called down the lightnings of heaven to blast the pride of his foes. Now is not this example the keenest of all rebukes upon the ferocious spirit of war? And God has sanctified the example of Jesus, and made it omnipotent in the cause of humanity and holiness. His non-resisting self-sacrifice on the cross has given rise, more perhaps than any thing else, to the philanthropic energy, that, since his day, has been manifested by his followers in every nation under heaven. It inspired the apostles, and gave the martyrs their triumph. It has gone forth with the dauntless host of missionaries, and made the song of praise to redeeming love echo from the icebergs of the Arctic and the coral reefs of the Pacific. It is laboring in every effort and sacrifice made to purify and exalt the human race. And, if God has given such wondrous efficacy to a single solitary instance of the patient endurance of injury, how vast will be the moral power of the Christian church, when all its members set the example of non-resistance, when they all with one voice declare that it is better to suffer wrong than to do wrong!

The only portion of our Saviour's words, that is adduced by the advocates of war, as sanctioning the use of the sword, is that, where he says, — "He that hath a purse, let him take it, and likewise his scrip; and *he that hath no sword, let him sell his garment, and buy one.*" * This, it is very evident, could not have been a literal direction to his disciples, for the following reasons. First, when they said, "Lord, here are two swords," his reply was, "It is enough;" whereas, had he intended that they should be armed, would he not have ordered the nine who had not swords, to procure them? Secondly, he rebuked Peter for using one of the two swords belonging to the company. Thirdly, in his examination before Pilate he positively disclaims the sword, saying, "My kingdom is not of this world; if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight." These reasons incontestably prove, that the words of Jesus in question are not to be regarded in the light of a literal command. How, then, are they to be interpreted? We regard the whole verse as figurative; and would convey our ideas of its meaning by the

* Luke xxii. 36.

following paraphrase: "You have led a comparatively safe and easy life. But times of want and danger are now at hand, — such times as, according to the customs of men, demand the preparation of purse, scrip, and sword," — but times, nevertheless, which the Master intended that his disciples should meet with the simple preparation of the gospel of peace, and with no other sword, than the sword of the spirit. When he found that he was misunderstood, time failed him to explain himself farther; but he most peremptorily forbade the literal application of his words, by the decisive reply, "It is enough."

We trust that none of our readers will raise an argument in favor of war, from the fact, that wars were divinely permitted, nay, even commanded, under the Mosaic dispensation. But, as a leading theological journal in this city, has recently drawn objections from the Old Testament to the doctrine of the utter unlawfulness of war, it may not be amiss to quote entire what Mr. Dymond has said on the subject.

"An argument has sometimes been advanced in favor of war from the Divine communications to the Jews under the administration of Moses. It has been said, that, as wars were allowed and enjoined to that people, they cannot be inconsistent with the will of God.

"We have no intention to dispute, that, under the Mosaic dispensation, some wars were allowed, or that they were enjoined upon the Jews as an imperative duty. But those who refer, in justification of our present practice, to the authority by which the Jews prosecuted their wars, must be expected to produce the same authority for our own. Wars were *commanded* to the Jews, but are they commanded to us? War, in the abstract, was never commanded. And, surely, those specific wars, which were enjoined upon the Jews for an express purpose, are neither authority nor example for us, who have received no such injunction, and can plead no such purpose.

"It will, perhaps, be said that the commands to prosecute wars, even to extermination, are so positive and so often repeated, that it is not probable, if they were inconsistent with the will of Heaven, they would have been thus peremptorily enjoined. We answer, that they were not inconsistent with the will of Heaven *then*. But even then, the prophets foresaw that they were not accordant with the universal will of God, since they predicted that when that will should be fulfilled, war should be eradicated from the world. And by what dispensation was that will to be fulfilled? By that of the 'Rod out of the stem of Jesse.'

"But what do those who refer to the dispensation of Moses

maintain? Do they say that the injunctions to the Jews are binding upon them? If they say this, we have at least reason to ask them for greater consistency of obedience. That these injunctions, in point of fact, do not bind them, they give sufficient proof, by the neglect of the greater portion of them, enforced as those injunctions were, by the same authority as that which commanded war. They have, therefore, so far as their argument is concerned, annulled the injunctions by their own rejection of them. And out of ten precepts to reject nine and retain one, is a gratuitous and idle mode of argument.

"If I be told that we still acknowledge the obligation of many of these precepts, I answer that we acknowledge the duties which they enjoin, but not because of the authority which enjoined them. We obey the injunctions, not because they were delivered in the law, but because they are enforced by Christianity. The command, 'Thou shalt not kill,' has never been abolished; but Christians do not prohibit murder because it was denounced in the decalogue, they would have prohibited it if the decalogue had never existed.

"But farther;—Some of the commands under the law Christianity *requires* us to disobey. *If a man have a stubborn and rebellious son, which will not obey the voice of his father*, &c., *all the men of the city shall stone him with stones that he die.** *If thy brother, the son of thy mother, or thy son, or thy daughter, or the wife of thy bosom, entice thee secretly, saying, 'Let us go and serve other gods,' thou shalt not pity or conceal him, but thou shalt surely kill him; thine hand shall be first upon him to put him to death.*† Now we know that Christianity will not sanction an obedience of these commands; and if we did obey them, our own laws would treat us as murderers. If the precepts under the dispensation of Moses are binding because they were promulgated by Heaven, they are binding in all their commands and all their prohibitions. But some of these precepts we habitually disregard, and some it were criminal to obey; and with what reason then do we refer to them in our defence?

"And *why* was the law superseded? Because it 'made nothing perfect.' 'The law was given by Moses, but grace and *truth* came by Jesus Christ.' The manner in which the author of 'Truth' prefaced some of his most important precepts, is much to our present purpose. 'It hath been said by them of old time, An eye for an eye,' &c. He then introduces his own precept with the contradistinguishing preface,—'But *I* say unto you.' This, therefore, appears to be a specific abrogation of the *authority* of the legal injunctions, and an introduction of another system; and this is all that our present purpose requires. The truth is,

* Deut. xxi. 18, 21. † Ibid. xiii. 5, 9.

that the law was abolished because of its imperfections; yet we take hold of one of these imperfections in justification of our present practice. Is it because we feel that we cannot defend it by our own religion?

"We therefore dismiss the dispensation of Moses from any participation in the argument. Whatever it allowed, or whatever it prohibited in relation to war, we do not inquire. We ask only what Christianity allows and prohibits, and by this we determine the question. It is the more necessary to point out the inapplicability of these arguments from the Old Testament, because there are some persons of desultory modes of thinking, who find that war is allowed in 'the Bible,' and who forget to inquire into the present authority of the permission." — pp. 65–67.

We have shown the inconsistency of war with the precepts of the New Testament and the example of Jesus, and have rebutted, in the words of another, the counter argument which has been often drawn from the Old Testament. We wish now to show in one or two important particulars the utter inconsistency of war, not only with the letter of the Christian law, but with the general spirit of Christianity.

We remark, first, that even the most righteous war violates the Christian law of justice, inasmuch as in such a war the punishment falls not upon the guilty, but the innocent. To illustrate this remark by an example; suppose that, to redress some imaginary wrong, Great Britain should capture our merchant vessels, ruin our commerce, and make descents by fire and sword upon the unprotected portions of our sea-coast. Our government would repel these insults and injuries by declaring war, and equipping a powerful fleet to cope with the English maritime force. We might, perhaps, be successful; British ship after ship might be sunk or captured, British crew after crew slaughtered, till at length we could make peace on our own terms. And after all, our hostile efforts would not have affected in any considerable degree the authors of our wrongs. For who would have been the authors? The King, living in indolent luxury, unapproachable by any such reverse of fortune, — the ministers, who perhaps had blown up the coals of strife for purposes of personal or party ambition, — the hereditary aristocracy, whose estates alone might perhaps be taxed a little more heavily on account of the expenses of the war, but that would be all, — the members of Parliament, who are removed to an immeasurable distance from all the fatigues, privations, and dangers of war. And

upon whom should we have avenged ourselves for the wrongs which these men had done us? Chiefly upon thousands of British seamen, who did not engage in the war voluntarily, but were knocked down in the streets of their cities by press-gangs, bound hand and foot, and thrown on board the public ships, to expose their lives in the cause of reckless ambition. And what right have we to inflict vicarious punishment? Where is the leaf in the divine book, which authorizes us to visit upon subjects the sins of their rulers,—to punish the little for the offences of the great? If, when wrong is done us in the councils of a foreign nation, we could press our way at once to the throne, the council-chamber, or the hall of legislation, and drag forth to condign punishment the real authors of the injury, there would at least be in such a procedure something of the form of justice; but war punishes the innocent, leaves the guilty at home unharmed, and therefore is at best such a transaction, as if we, because we had a sum of money stolen from us by a man now beyond our reach, should levy the sum upon the first man whom by fair or foul means we could get into our power.

Again, the practice of war is entirely at variance with Christian views of the worth of the human soul. The Gospel bids us regard every man as an immortal spirit, capable of unending happiness or of hopeless woe,—as a being, the worth of whose soul worlds could not measure. It thus leads us to look with the most sacred forbearance upon every human life, as eternal consequences may hinge upon its continuance. War, on the other hand, regards men as mere machines, recognises only the earthly portion of their existence, and makes their death as utterly a matter of indifference as is the death of a brute. The man, who promotes or conducts a war, even in what is commonly called a righteous cause, actually assigns a higher value to temporary and inferior worldly interests than to thousands of immortal spirits. It is certain that, of those who die in battle, many rush out of the world in the phrensy of intoxication, many after leading the most flagitious lives, scarcely any with that regenerate heart to which Jesus promises the kingdom of heaven. And it is equally certain, that, under the more genial influences of peace, many of these individuals would have formed virtuous and holy characters. The Christian nation, then, that engages in war, must take upon itself the responsibility of send-

ing immortal spirits by hundreds and thousands into perdition; and that responsibility what mortal man or men shall dare to take! Is there any interest so sacred, any right so dear, as to outweigh the worth of a single human soul? Can we be so deeply wounded or insulted, as to make it fitting that the destruction of the immortal interests, not of one, but of many souls, should atone for the wrong? If not, then is all war unjustifiable.

We have now shown, we trust to the satisfaction of our readers, that the practice of war is entirely opposed to the precepts of the Gospel, the example of its Founder, and the spirit of his religion. It remains to answer one or two objections to the general view of the subject of war, which we have advocated.

It is said; "Great principles are sometimes at stake, — principles, which may promote the happiness and improvement of countless generations, and which can be established only by war. Is it not right to fight in defence of such principles?" We answer unhesitatingly, No. What right have we to take the lives, the souls, of our brethren, and offer them up, even on the altar of happiness and improvement? What right have we to do evil that good may come? Moreover, God, who certainly desires the well-being of his children, has given us the New Testament, full of unqualified precepts of peace, non-resistance, forgiveness, as our safest guide to happiness, our surest means of improvement. What do we say, then, when we assert the expediency of war? Simply this, — that we know, better than God, what is good for us, — that we are wiser than our divine Master. This is the error of Paley, and of all those moralists who adopt expediency as their standard of right; they first show, that war is necessary and expedient, then assert, that it cannot therefore be forbidden in the Scriptures, and then make the most ludicrous distortions of the sacred text, in order to prove that it is not forbidden. The contrary would seem the more modest process of reasoning for *finite* beings, — to make the first appeal to revelation; then, if war be forbidden there, to determine at once, that it cannot be either expedient or necessary; and finally to corroborate, by collateral arguments, the doctrine of its inexpediency and uselessness. We would rather have no Bible, than to have one which we are obliged to correct at every step by our own notions of expediency and right.

But, leaving Scripture out of the question, and resting the case entirely on expediency, we still would deny the justifiableness of war, even for the establishment of great principles. No principle or possession can do a nation good, unless the nation be virtuous; and war has always proved fatal to the moral character of the nations engaged in it, of the victorious no less than of the vanquished.

If ever a war was justified by the principles in defence of which it was waged, it was the war of our Revolution. Let us cursorily examine the objects and results of that war. It is stated in every Fourth-of-July oration, that it was not for the security of *individual* rights or property, not to obtain new means of prosperity, not to throw off a yoke of iron, but simply by throwing off a comparatively light yoke to obtain entire freedom, that our ancestors commenced hostilities. They were increasing in numbers and wealth with unexampled rapidity. They enjoyed good laws, (indeed, in all important particulars, the same laws under which we are now living,) and generally a judicious administration of them. The burden of taxation was much lighter than it is under our present form of government. Until symptoms of rebellion appeared, there was no military occupation of the country. And, after troops had been stationed to keep the peace in the head-quarters of rebellion, they most religiously refrained from acts of personal violence and outrage; and, indeed, the first blood that was shed in the quarrel was shed by British soldiers in defending themselves from the fury of a Boston mob. Moreover, the institutions of learning and religion were firmly established,— those of religion much more firmly than at present. Now all these blessings were cut off for a time by the war of the Revolution, even our colleges converted into barracks, and our churches into riding-schools; and it may be fairly doubted whether the elements of national prosperity have yet settled upon a more durable foundation, than that on which they stood before the first revolutionary movements. But unless it bring solid advantages with it, national independence is but a name. That name indeed we have, — we have a union too, which has been on the brink of dissolution ever since it was formed, — rulers also of our own choice, about whose respective claims the country is kept in ceaseless commotion, towns, neighbourhoods, and families distracted by party broils, and the public prints filled with

calumny. We would not assert that these are all the fruits that we have reaped from the revolutionary struggle ; much less would we deny that he, who makes even the wrath of man to praise him, may yet educe great and increasing good from the events of that decisive period. But we do believe, that, had the war for independence never taken place, our country would have been much more prosperous, virtuous, and happy, than at present. Nor need we have remained for ever in subjection to British power. We might perhaps have purchased the right of self-government and independence, or gained it ere this, by free concession, or by outgrowing the mother country, and becoming too strongly a preponderant weight on this side the Atlantic for her to poize on the other ; or, had we still retained our connexion with Great Britain, we should long since have obtained our right of representation in Parliament, in favor of granting which there was at the time of the war a large and constantly increasing party, particularly in the House of Commons.

But, whatever might have been our present condition had not the war taken place, it is very certain that the war introduced many sources of moral corruption previously unknown. Infidelity was, up to that date, exceedingly rare ; nor had there been any instance, in which a man who openly scorned his Saviour had obtained ascendency in the land. But Thomas Paine, at once a drunkard and a deist, was deemed a man well fitted to help on the work of war, was advised to come to this country by Dr. Franklin, was the confidential friend of Jefferson, received a largess from the poverty-stricken Congress, and numerous honors and emoluments from the governments of New York and Pennsylvania ; and yet it is very certain, that, ten years previously, a man of his character would have found nothing in this country but merited obscurity and ignominy. The popularity of his political works gave his "Age of Reason" an early and extensive circulation throughout the country. Several of the civil and military heads of the nation, during the war, were avowed or well-known unbelievers ; the poison of infidelity was in various ways infused into the army, and has been working its way deeper and deeper into the body politic ever since. Then again, it is certain, that, prior to the war of the Revolution, intemperance was a rare and dreaded evil, and comparatively little use was made of ardent spirits. The exposure

and fatigue of a military life led the soldiers to the habit of drinking freely, while multiplied public meetings of various kinds, the unsettled habits generated by war, and the danger, anxiety, and loss connected with it, led to the formation of similar habits by those at home. Thus the close of the war found our nation one of the most intemperate nations, perhaps, in the world; and thousands of the soldiers, who won the victory for us, have been cast by this vice alone upon the reluctant charity of the public. The Sabbath, too, was universally reverenced prior to the Revolution. War does not, cannot recognise a Sabbath. The whole nation were then too deeply interested in, and too closely connected with the military operations and movements, to observe any day as strictly a day of calm and holy rest; and the "vulgar Protestant prejudice," (as one of our distinguished naval commanders has seen fit to call it,*) that the Sabbath ought to be religiously observed, has been losing ground in the community ever since. Time would fail us to enumerate the evils which war has brought upon our country, — the ways in which it has fitted many times as many souls for perdition as it has stretched bodies on the field of battle. We leave our readers to judge, whether a war fraught with consequences so direful, (and yet with less direful consequences than almost any other war on record,) was justifiable on the mere score of expediency.

But, in illustrating the disastrous moral effects *directly* resulting from war, we have exhibited but a part of the picture. The practice of war, requiring naval and military establishments in time of peace, perpetuates military tastes and feelings in the community, and keeps open a perennial source of evil influences. Neither the navy nor the army has ever been a school of morality and piety; our navy and army cannot claim to be so. We speak not of private characters; did we, we should speak in terms of unqualified commendation of the intelligence, generosity, and moral purity of many of the officers, with whom it has been our happiness to be acquainted; nay more, we should mention those whom we have known as being examples and models of Christian piety. But, leaving individual characters out of the question, we would speak only of general features, and of public measures

* Commodore Porter, in the Journal of his Cruise in the Pacific.

and transactions. We would refer to the almost entire destitution of religious instruction and influence, to which the army and the navy are abandoned; the army having no chaplains, and the navy very few, while most of the military posts and the navy yards are so situated, that their inhabitants cannot enjoy the means of religion in company with their fellow-citizens. We would refer to the infidelity and immorality which some of its best friends acknowledge as existing in the Military Academy at West Point, where the cadets are left without any religious service or instruction except a single attendance upon public worship on Sabbath morning; where the Sabbath is officially recognised as a day of study, and is often selected as a season for special military parade or duty; where young men, formed for distinguished places in the community, are entirely excluded from all the humanizing, elevating, purifying influences of domestic and social life. We would refer to the general regulations of the army and navy, which recognise none of the institutions and ordinances of religion, and not unfrequently demand their violation. We would remind some of our readers of the naval salutes that have startled them at the very hour of public worship. We would not have it forgotten, till such abuses be remedied, that the present bishop of Ohio, when chaplain at West Point, remonstrated in vain against the military *entrée* of the Inspector on the Sabbath, and, immediately after the unholy parade, the roll of drums, and roar of artillery, took for his text, "Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy"; and that the chaplain's dismissal or resignation was so nearly consequent upon this act of moral courage, as fully to authorize the supposition, that they stood in the relation of cause and effect. These statements may suffice to illustrate the deleterious moral tendency of peace establishments, which ought in fairness to be taken into the account in every argument upon the expediency of war.

Now, if these things be so, the immediate and forced establishment even of principles of prime importance cannot be worth the tremendous sacrifices incurred by war and by every military institution and custom.

But some of our readers, who admit the unlawfulness of aggressive war, may yet advocate what they call defensive war, on the ground that self-defence is a divinely implanted instinct of human nature. So are hunger and thirst divinely

implanted instincts. And shall not God be allowed to govern what he has implanted? He has inscribed in his word the law of temperance for the government of the instincts of hunger and thirst; and we unhesitatingly admit its obligation. Why not as freely and fully admit the supremacy of the laws, — "Love your enemies," and "Recompense to no man evil for evil," over the instinct of self-defence? But we go yet farther; we deny that there is any such thing as defensive war. We deny altogether the connexion of war with the instinct of self-defence. This instinct is simple and spontaneous, — it is that which raises the arm to ward off a blow when aimed, which adds wings to the feet when the loosening crag overhangs our path. It does not invent gunpowder, or erect armories, or forge swords or spears. These are the work of cool calculation and of arduous effort, — not the hasty offspring of untutored instinct. War implies calculation, art, and science, and therefore cannot be justified on the ground that it is the prompting of instinct. Moreover, war necessarily implies attack as well as defence, — a determination to murder others as well as a wish to avoid being murdered ourselves. If we could invent some process by which our enemies could be disarmed without injury to life or limb, such a process would be defensive war; but to nothing beyond this could the name be fairly applied.

The nominal division of wars into aggressive and defensive has long presented a barrier to the diffusion of right ideas on this subject. The unjustifiableness of aggressive war has been generally admitted; but every nation has always contrived to style its own wars defensive. There never has been or can be a war incapable of being plausibly justified on this ground, — a ground assumed alike by both parties in every international quarrel. When we so recently apprehended a war with France, had our government declared war, it would have been termed a defensive war; for France had not only withheld our money, but had thereby assailed that indefinable abstraction, called *national honor*, — a thing, we are taught to believe, infinitely more precious than life, prosperity, or virtue. Then, if, on the other hand, France had declared war, it would have been deemed by her citizens a defensive war; for their property on the seas had been wantonly threatened, and their national honor outraged. But, if our reasoning on this point has been sound, we have shown that defen-

sive war is a contradiction of terms, — that the only distinction to be made among wars is between those where there is a greater, and those where there is a less degree of provocation.

"But how are we to do," some of our readers will ask, "when provocation reaches its utmost extremity, — when our lives or the lives of our friends are endangered by the lawless force whether of individuals or of armies? Shall we not, then, repel offered violence by violence?" We answer, No. Duty is yours; events are in God's hands. And what though he let you fall a sacrifice to the principles of the Gospel? You fall as Jesus fell, and your example will, within the sphere of your influence, exert the same benign influence, which his example has exerted over the whole world.

But we believe, that the path of peace will almost uniformly be found the path of safety. The same Being, who has given the law, "Resist not evil," holds in his hands the hearts of all men, and adjusts the course of providence; and he can and doubtless will protect those who keep his law. Wherever the principle of non-resistance to evil has been put in practice, he has owned and blessed it; and the history of mankind presents several most striking contrasts, in which those who have taken the sword have perished by it, while under similar circumstances the friends of peace have been preserved. The Jews in their last war trusted to arms; and they exhibited a scene of destruction and carnage never surpassed. The Christian residents of the city, we are told, deeming it unlawful to fight, and relying solely on divine guidance, retired unharmed through the posts of the enemy to a little village beyond Jordan, and were all saved. The Puritan fathers of New England were men of war, and were engaged in constant hostility with the Indians; how many of New England's purest and best sons fell a sacrifice to savage barbarity! In the midst of six savage tribes of the same origin and character with the aborigines of New England, settled William Penn and his Quaker followers. Truth, honesty, and kindness were their only weapons; their unbarred houses and unprotected firesides their only forts. Human calculation would have pronounced their days numbered and finished. But the same God had created the souls of the savages and uttered the law of peace, and they were fitted to each other; for harmony reigns through all the works of his hands. The

Indians saw that the Quakers were men of peace, and could not find it in their hearts to molest them, or to treat them otherwise than affectionately and kindly. Thus there was strength in the very weakness of the Pennsylvanians; and for more than seventy years, during which all the other provinces of North America were the theatre of the most heart-rending barbarity, Pennsylvania had not so much as a single armed man. In New England, too, the Indians always spared, when they knew them, the houses and persons of the Quakers, as also throughout the country those of the kindred brotherhood of the Moravians. The Society of Friends can, in the whole history of Indian warfare, notice the death of only three of their number; and two of these were men, who went to their labor with unloaded muskets to frighten the Indians, and the third was a woman who had fled to a fort for protection.* The experience of the Quakers during the Irish rebellion in 1798 was similar. That was a season of cold-blooded murder and outrage, exasperated by all the venom of religious bigotry. The Quakers shrunk not from danger; but put forth that loftiest of all courage, which consists in returning good for evil, blessing for cursing. And God preserved them; and, when strangers passed through the desolated streets, and beheld here and there a single house standing uninjured, they would point to it and say,—"That doubtless is a Quaker's house." Only one fell, and he had assumed arms and regimentals.† What a glorious commentary are facts like these upon the text of Solomon; "When a man's ways please the Lord, he maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him"! Now do not the cases above enumerated and others of a similar character authorize the presumption, that God would in like manner favor all those, who, instead of trusting to implements of war and bloodshed, should trust in Providence and in the power of virtue and of love? Such instances of the success of a pacific policy would show, that war is not even the surest means of defence and safety from actually impending danger, and thus would drive the advocates of war from their last refuge-ground.

But it is time for us to draw our discussion to a close. We have spoken strongly on this subject; for we feel strongly.

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* See Grimké's Dymond, pp. 94 - 96. † Ibid. pp. 96, 167, 168.

We have used the language of firm conviction; and have used it sincerely. Our faith in the divine origin of Christianity is not one whit stronger than our persuasion, that the precepts and example of Jesus forbid war of every kind.

Let us not, then, be too harshly censured for having spoken so freely of that war for our country's liberty, which we have been educated to regard as a holy war. We venerate the characters of many who were engaged in it, and doubt not, that they were urged by a high sense of duty, and a spirit of self-sacrifice worthy of the noblest enterprise. We revere the character of Washington as we revere that of hardly any human being; nor have we a doubt, that, were he now living, he would be one in mind with ourselves on the subject of war. He was a friend of peace; and of all great military chieftains whose history we have read, he is the only one, in whom the virtues of peace were not tarnished by the smoke of the battle-field. But, while we honor those whom our country honors, we must look for *principles* to a greater than they; and, if in our opinion they saw but part of the counsel of God, if to our ear the voice of Jesus forbids every act of violence and bloodshed, how can we, against his word, put in an exception in favor even of the wars of our own people?

We are aware that the doctrine of the unlawfulness of war will appear to many of our readers strange, to some displeasing. But equally strange and displeasing would the doctrine, that man has no right to enslave his fellow-man, have appeared in New England seventy years ago. Equally strange and displeasing has the doctrine, that the traffic in ardent spirits is an unchristian business, appeared within the remembrance of most of our readers. And we have no doubt, that, fifty years hence, the unlawfulness of war will be deemed, as we now deem the unlawfulness of slavery, — too obvious to need proof.

We dismiss the subject by commending it to the devout inquiries and earnest efforts of Christians. If swords are to be beaten into ploughshares, and spears into pruning-hooks, it must be by Christian hands. The worst aspects of war are those which it bears in the light of the Gospel. The cause of peace puts forth its strongest claims in the name of Jesus of Nazareth. It is a cause, in which Christian ministers are bound to be peculiarly active in enlightening and guiding public opinion. They cannot, indeed, put an end to war.

But they can produce a state of things, in which all *Christians* shall be the firm friends of peace, — in which the advocates of war will be obliged first of all to throw aside the New Testament, — in which the banner of the *cross* shall never again wave over the field of carnage. It is our heart's desire and prayer, that the principles of non-resistance, and universal forgiveness and love, may ere long be so inseparably connected with the Gospel, that every follower of the Lord Jesus shall say, as did the martyr of early times, — "I am a Christain and therefore cannot fight." Then will Christianity gain speedy and universal ascendency; and the peace and good will, reigning in a regenerated world, will render glory to God in the highest.

ART. VII. — *Discourses on Various Subjects.* By the Rev. ORVILLE DEWEY. New York. David Felt & Co. 1835. 12mo. pp. 299.

IN noticing these Discourses, we would wish to keep out of view, as far as possible, that their author is one of ourselves; that he is our personal friend; that his religious opinions are in the main our own; that he has been one of the most regular and valuable contributors to the pages of this work; that this very number opens with one of his articles, the first which he has given us since his return from abroad; — these things, we say, we would fain keep out of sight, in noticing these Discourses, because we desire to consider them on the ground of their own separate merit, as specimens of the religious literature of the day, or rather as evidences of what may be done by the pulpit for the public mind and for individual souls. If we had never before heard of their author, we are quite sure, that we should have pronounced them remarkable performances. If we had been ignorant of the religious denomination to which he is considered to belong, we are certain that we should have hailed his works as powerful aids to the Christian cause universal; that we should have said, Here is a preacher who understands the object of preaching, and can effect that object; here is a man who can speak to the human heart, and make it listen; who can address the human soul,

and move it to the best and highest purposes, those purposes which are alone consistent with its own wants and its own spiritual nature.

The distinguishing peculiarity of these discourses, is, in fact, that they aim to persuade and convince men, with an earnestness and power from which there is no escaping, of their spiritual and immortal nature, — of the exceeding and eternal worth of that nature, — of the primary obligation to value and cultivate it, — of the inexpressible sin of neglecting, abusing, perverting it. The title-page announces Discourses on *various subjects*, — and they are various in the common sense of the word, — but still they are only different points of view from which the attention is directed to one central prospect. Whatever be the name of the discourse, its great end and aim is to bring men to acknowledge, — not coldly and theoretically, but earnestly and abidingly, — that they are responsible creatures, immortal creatures, living under the eye and government of an infinite God, and having far higher trusts and interests than any which belong to this world alone. Whether the discourse be "on Human Nature," or on "the Appeal of Religion to Human Nature," or "on Religious Sensibility," or "Religious Indifference," the purpose of the preacher is always to show that religion is man's proper element, real happiness, true nobility. And he pursues this purpose with an earnestness of tone, a copiousness of illustration, a force of reasoning, and a constant directness of application, which absolutely insist on a hearing, and which rivet the attention of the soul to the one spiritual object. Notwithstanding, therefore, that this volume consists of separate discourses on various subjects, there is an almost epic unity, which connects one with another, and binds the whole together. It is rare to meet with a collection of sermons, from which the impression derived is of so single a character.

Although we are aware that extracts from a book often lose their effect as specimens, by being taken away from their proper place and connexion, yet we will venture to give a few from these discourses, because we are satisfied that they will create a desire in those who read them to read the whole volume; and we wish that the volume may be read by as many as possible. If it be read, we can have little doubt with respect to its influence.

We will quote from the first discourse, a part of the wri-

ter's defence of human nature against a cold and sneering philosophy, against the proverbial calumnies of a certain set of sages, whose selfish sarcasm too often passes for wisdom.

"But in the third place; where, let us ask, has this man studied human nature? Lord Chesterfield observes, — and the observation is worthy of a man who never seems to have looked beneath the surface of any thing, — that the Court and the Camp are the places, in which a knowledge of mankind is to be gained. And we may remark, that it is from two fields not altogether dissimilar, that our skeptic about virtue always gains his knowledge of mankind: I mean, from fashion and business; the two most artificial spheres of active life. Our objector has witnessed heartless civilities, and imagines that he is acquainted with the deep fountains of human nature. Or, he has been out into the paths of business, and seen men girt up for competition, and acting in that artificial state of things which trade produces; and he imagines that he has witnessed the free and unsophisticated workings of the human heart; he supposes that the laws of trade are also the laws of human affection. He thinks himself deeply read in the book of the human heart, that unfathomable mystery, because he is acquainted with notes and bonds, with cards and compliments.

"How completely, then, is this man disqualified from judging of human nature! There *is* a power, which few possess, which none have attained in perfection; a power to unlock the retired, the deeper, and nobler sensibilities of men's minds, to draw out the hoarded and hidden virtues of the soul, to open the fountains which custom and ceremony and reserve have sealed up: it is a power, I repeat, which few possess, — how evidently does our objector possess it not, — and yet, without some portion of which, no man should think himself qualified to study human nature. Men know but little of each other, after all; but little know how many good and tender affections are suppressed and kept out of sight, by diffidence, by delicacy, by the fear of appearing awkward or ostentatious, by habits of life, by education, by sensitiveness, and even by strong sensibility, that sometimes puts on a hard and rough exterior for its own check or protection. And the power that penetrates all these barriers, must be an extraordinary one. There must belong to it charity, and kindness, and forbearance, and sagacity, and fidelity to the trust which the opening heart reposes in it. But how peculiarly, I repeat, how totally devoid of this power of opening and unfolding the real character of his fellows, must be the scoffer at human nature!

"I have said that this man gathers his conclusions from the most formal and artificial aspects of the world. He never could have drawn them from the holy retreats of domestic life, — to say noth-

ing of those deeper privacies of the heart of which I have just been speaking; — he never could have drawn his conclusions from those family scenes, where unnumbered, nameless, minute, and indescribable sacrifices are daily made, by thousands and ten thousands all around us; he never could have drawn them from the self-devoting mother's cares, or from the grateful return, the lovely assiduity and tenderness of filial affection; he never could have derived his contemptuous inference from the sick-room, where friendship, in silent prayer, watches and tends its charge. No: he dare not go out from our dwellings, from our temples, from our hospitals, — he dare not tread upon the holy places of the land, the high places, where the devout have prayed, and the brave have died; and proclaim, that patriotism is a visionary sentiment, and piety a selfish delusion, and charity a pretence, and virtue a name." — pp. 20–22.

But the writer discriminates. He is by no means blind to the weaknesses, errors, sins, and wickednesses of men. It is the impartial truth of his estimate, which places him on ground so high and strong. He says;

"True it is, and I would not be one to weaken nor obscure the truth, that man is sinful; but he is not satisfied with sinning. Not his conscience only, but his wants, his natural affections, are not satisfied. He pays deep penalties for his transgressions. And these sufferings proclaim a higher nature. The pain, the disappointment, the dissatisfaction, that wait on an evil course, show that the human soul was not made to be the instrument of sin, but its lofty avenger. The desolated affections, the haggard countenance, the pallid and sunken cheek, the sighings of grief, proclaim that these are ruins indeed, but they proclaim, that something noble has fallen into ruin, — proclaim it by signs mournful, yet venerable, like the desolations of an ancient temple, like its broken walls, and fallen columns, and the hollow sounds of decay that sink down heavily among its deserted recesses.

"The sinner, I repeat it, is a sufferer. He seeks happiness in low and unworthy objects, — that is his sin: but he does not find it there, — and that is his glory. No, he does not find it there: he returns disappointed and melancholy; and there is nothing on earth so eloquent as his grief. Read it in the pages of a Byron and a Burns. There is nothing in literature so touching as these lamentations of noble but erring natures, in the vain quest of a happiness which sin and the world can never give. The sinner is often dazzled by earthly fortune and pomp, but it is in the very midst of these things, that he sometimes most feels their emptiness; that his higher nature most feels that it is solitary and un-

satisfied. It is in the giddy whirl of frivolous pursuits, and amusements, that his soul oftentimes is sick and weary with trifles and vanities; that 'he says of laughter, It is mad; and of mirth, What doeth it?'

"And yet it is not bare disappointment, nor the mere destitution of happiness caused by sin, — it is not these alone that give testimony to a better nature. There is a higher power that bears sway in the human heart. It is remorse, — sacred, uncompromising remorse, that will hear of no selfish calculations of pain and pleasure; that *demands* to suffer; that, of all sacrifices on earth, save those of benevolence, brings the only willing victim. What lofty revenge does the abused soul thus take, for its offences; never, no, never, in all its anger, punishing another, as, in its justice, it punishes itself!" — p. 25–27.

The conclusion is pressed again and again, as in the following paragraph.

"O! my brethren, it is a pitiable desecration of such a nature as ours to give it up to the world. Some baser thing might have been given, without regret; but to bow down reason and conscience, to bind them to the clods of earth; to contract those faculties that spread themselves out beyond the world, even to infinity, — to contract them to worldly trifles, — it is pitiable; it is something to mourn and to weep over. He who sits down in a dungeon which another has made, has not such cause to bewail himself, as he who sits down in the dungeon which he has thus made for himself. Poverty and destitution are sad things; but there is no such poverty, there is no such destitution, as that of a covetous and worldly heart. Poverty is a sad thing; but there is no man so poor, as he who is poor in his affections and virtues. Many a house is full, where the mind is unfurnished and the heart is empty; and no hovel of mere penury ever ought to be so sad as that house. Behold, it is left desolate, — to the immortal, it is left desolate, as the chambers of death. Death *is* there indeed; and it is the death of the soul!" — pp. 55, 56.

And now let us turn over the next half of the volume, and we find the same pleadings and strivings, the same tone of deeply engaged remonstrance, the same great end proposed and enforced; we meet the same spirit engaged in the same work. Now, the particular theme is religious indifference. Who can be indifferent, — what man can be indifferent, to that which most concerns him as a man? What thinking creature can be indifferent to the end of his being, and the

Ordainer of his condition and destiny? Let him consider the picture of his own life.

"Whenever a man looks around him, there are certain things which he must acknowledge. He is a living man, and there is a scene of life, there are events and ordinances of life for him to pass through, — events and ordinances of life which he must pass through, let his character be what it may. It is striking indeed, to think that every mind, however reckless and trifling, must fall upon all the trials, the allotments, the fates of this mortal and momentous existence. The boast of health is no shield against disease; nor the frivolity of pleasure, against sadness and sorrow. Avarice must come to the hour of utter destitution; and pride to the hour of utter prostration. How powerful a call to religion, then, is life itself! How powerfully does it forbid all indifference! Life, I repeat, with all that makes it up; with all its great and solemn ordinations of toil, and endurance, and vicissitude, and sickness, and affliction; with all its periods, — of glowing youth, and sober manhood, and thoughtful age; life, with its trembling ties of friendship, its holy rites of marriage, its sympathies of kindred, and its homes of affection; with its attendance on sickness and languishment, and its last sad offices to the beings of its love and companionship, — life, I repeat, the body's frailty and decay, the soul's conflict, the mind's discipline, the heart's solemn monitress, — Oh! who can look with indifference to the Ordainer of such a lot? Who can live, and die, in perfect unconcern with regard to the Being who has made him to live and die? I confess that to my own mind, it seems inevitable that I should be moved in some way, yes, religiously moved, by this experience of life. If I were impious, I should rail at it; if I were devout, I should humbly submit to its discipline; but not to feel at all! — I must be a stock, or a stone! Life, — by every joy, by every sorrow of it! — life is no neutral scene; and how can, — how *can* he who experiences it, be neutral?" — pp. 163, 164.

The preacher considers the apologies which are made for religious indifference, and shows them to be futile. He follows up this state of mind, and breaks down all its defences. He contemplates it, as it stands exposed and without defence, and declares it to be incomprehensible.

"To me, I must confess, this state of mind is one of the greatest of mysteries. We hear much of the mysteries of religion, and the negligent and indifferent are the very persons, perhaps, who complain most of mysteries, and even make of them an apology for their indifference. But I confess that they themselves present

in their own persons, anomalies and mysteries, that go farther than all others, to stagger and confound, not only faith, but reason itself. It is the most inconceivable thing in human experience, that any man with the feelings and the reflections of a man, should be able to take and hold a position of absolute indifference, with regard to a subject so all-embracing and intimately connected with him, as religion. If I did not know the fact to be so; if it were not a matter of confession and even of boast with some, I should scarcely be able to believe it. No testimony, I am ready to say, — nothing but confession, could convince me of it. For I do not know what the life of a mind is, that can be thus estranged from religion. Occupying a point of space amidst infinite systems of beauty and harmony, — a breathing hour of time, between the eternity past, and the eternity to come; seeing clear manifestations of boundless power and wisdom on every side in the whole creation, and yet ignorant of ten thousand mysteries, that fill that creation from its lowest depth to its topmost height; a mind seeing this, and feeling this, and tried, too, with the ten thousand events of life, — ay, and suffering, oftentimes sinking, and yet at other times soaring and aspiring to things infinite and immortal; — that mind, I say, — what is it? — What is it made of, and what is it made for, if it does not sometimes stretch out the hand of entreaty, for a guidance and support, for a voice of teaching and a solution of mysteries, beyond this world? Let it be so, that right, and rectitude, and obligation, and duty were all out of the question: yet where is curiosity? Where is the questioning that belongs to a thoughtful and intelligent creature, amidst a scene like this? It is a mystery, I will not say, of iniquity; but it is a mystery of dulness, surpassing all comprehension. O! men of this world, whosoever ye are! — O! men who are altogether of this world! — talk not to us of our mysteries, till ye have cleared up your own mysteries. A mind, insensible to all the highest interests of a mind, — a mind, bereft of all the attributes of a thinking, inquiring, suffering, unsatisfied being, — what is it, I ask again? Is it matter, or spirit? — Is it an earthly creature? No; for its thoughts stretch beyond the earth. Is it a heavenly being? No, for it cares not for heaven. What is it then, and where is its place? Where in the universe of things is its place?

"Ah! how surely is that *out* of its place, for which no position can be found, in the eye of reason, or of common sense, or even of imagination! Let him who has wandered, — whether in the ways of gain, or of philosophy, or of fashion, to the verge of that shadowy region, that shore of spectral illusions, that world of spiritual death and mental chaos, where nothing is right, nor reasonable, nor sure, nor safe, — let him start back, as from the gulf of annihilation, and return to the way of life. Let him turn back

to the solid ground of faith, of reason, of wisdom. Let him enter upon the path that is bright with truth and virtue, — the path that shineth brighter and brighter to the perfect day." — p. 171–173.

This is preaching with power, and it must be with effect. Surely no man, no living and unburied man, can hear this, can read this, and not be moved, at least for a time. We do not mean that the considerations presented here are new; we do not mean that the appeals and remonstrances here uttered, have never been uttered before; but they are here presented and uttered with a directness, with a reality, joined at the same time with a dignity and beauty, which it is rare to find in sermons. We need say nothing of Mr. Dewey's style. Every one who has read the sermons, or even the above extracts from them, will see what it is. It exactly befits the thought. It is the spontaneous language of an earnest and eloquent spirit. It has starts, and breaks, and parentheses within parentheses, — but no confusion, no obscurity. We see how it might be criticized; but we shall not criticize it, and we would not have it other than it is; — or, if different in some few respects, not so different as to change its character.

NOTICES AND INTELLIGENCE.

Sermons by NATHAN PARKER, D. D., late Pastor of the South Church and Parish, Portsmouth, N. H. Published by a Committee of the Parish. *With a Memoir of the Author*, by HENRY WARE, JR., Professor of Pulpit Eloquence and the Pastoral Care in Harvard University. Portsmouth: J. W. Foster, and J. F. Shores. 1835. 8vo. pp. xcii. and 402. — Having inserted in a former number of this Journal* an extended memoir of the life, character, and genius of Dr. Parker, we the less regret that our present limits will permit as but barely to notice the appearance of this interesting and valuable selection from his Discourses. The reader will in justice remember, and in a few instances he may have occasion to remember, that most of them were prepared with no view to publication, in the ordinary, and often, we may presume, in the hurried preparation for the pulpit, and that they now appear under the many and great disadvantages of a posthumous work. Still it would be difficult to find a volume of sermons more likely to bene-

* Vol. XVI. pp. 103–125.

fit the general reader, or to interest and edify the seriously disposed; and when considered in connexion with Dr. Parker's practical turn of mind, and downrightness of character, and the singleness of purpose with which he devoted himself to the duties of the ministry, they sufficiently account for his uncommon success. Sometimes, as in the two discourses on "The Sabbath," he evinces considerable research, and clear and powerful reasoning; at others, as in the two discourses on "Amusements," and in that on "The Signs of the Times," he is chiefly remarkable for careful observation, just thought, and the habit of a wise moral and spiritual discrimination. In regard to style and manner, the discourses throughout are plain, serious, direct, and strong, like their author's mind, occasionally, but not often, rising into a fervid earnestness, and bursts of natural eloquence. A short passage or two must suffice as specimens, and we begin by giving one from a sermon on the "Distinction between Saints and Sinners."

"But on this subject we need not pass beyond the sacred record of God's word. There all mankind are treated as if divided into two great classes, *saints* and *sinners*. But you may say that the Gospel was a new dispensation; that at its first promulgation it made a wide difference between those who received and those who rejected it; that on the one hand were the formal Jews and the idolatrous heathen, and on the other the simple, spiritual worshippers of the true God; that between those who are educated in the principles and forms of Christianity there can exist no such wide distinction as between an idolater and a Christian. It is granted that the visible distinction may not be so great. But are all who are educated in the forms of Christianity imbued with its spirit? No. Then between them, so far as regards actual character, there may be as real a difference, as between the Pagan and the true disciple of Christ. It is with the character of the heart, as it appears in the view of God, that we are now concerned; and I see not that this may not vary as essentially now as when Paul preached the Gospel. Besides, the Gospel dispensation looks forward to the utter overthrow and destruction of the world. It brings into view the final judgment, and declares to us the principles on which all things will be adjusted. Does it bring into view any class of men, who on the day of final decision will be numbered neither with the righteous nor the wicked? Does it reveal the fact, that in the unseen world there is fitted up a place for the abode of those who on earth had no decided religious character? No. On that day all are to be arranged in two great classes, those on the right hand and those on the left hand of the Judge; those who are to be approved, and those who are to be condemned. What a momentous concern then ought to press upon the soul of every man!" — pp. 22, 23.

We give another passage from a sermon on the "Characteristics of the Teachings of Jesus," in which the preacher is dwelling on that of love.

"It is to this trait in his character, that I wish particularly to direct your attention. By the honest friends of Christianity, many devices

have been invented and practised, to give power and interest to its instructions. The terrors of the Lord have been proclaimed, in the appropriate language of power acting for destruction. The passion of fear has been wrought upon without measure, and all the passions associated with it have been perseveringly addressed. The power of party has been tried, and so has that of pomp, of show, and of boasting, of forms and ceremonies, of fasts and prayers. But has the power of love been uniformly, and extensively tried? Has the true spirit of Jesus ever yet been fully exhibited, either by his ministers or his church? I fear that it has not; and that even some good men are most wofully deceived as to the tendency of their own influence. I see some indications of what a spirit of love can do, and the marks of base subjection to earthly influence, scattered together over the leaves of the Christian history. Its few bright pages are disfigured by crimes; but yet they are full of encouragement. I ask if the unfeeling menace can awaken a moral sensibility in the bosoms of wretched sinners, and excite them to repentance and reformation. I see the experiment tried; and the resentful passions are awakened, while the mass of guilt remains undiminished. I then trace the footsteps of the female missionary to the prisons of Europe. I see her in the midst of the most wretched, haggard, desperate victims of vice. Her countenance beams compassion. There is no menace falling from her lips, no disgust pictured on her radiant features. Pity's language speaks there. Her lips open in mildness. She addresses those, who have souls to save, in the spirit of him, who has power to save them. She speaks of brighter scenes than those which guilt exhibits. There is encouragement in her accents. The sullenness of hardened vice gradually relents. A moral sensibility is awakened. Little by little the squalidness of misery passes away; the cheerful intelligence of humble piety beams from the countenance; and the voice of prayer is heard from lips long accustomed to the language of impurity and blasphemy. Here I see, what the spirit of Christ is, what the fruits of his influence are; and I utter in sorrow the deep conviction of my soul, that the spirit of pure love, as it appeared in the teachings of Jesus, is not extensively abroad for the reformation of the world." — pp. 182, 183.

The Memoir prefixed, as might be expected with such a subject and from such a pen, is in all respects a valuable accession to religious biography, and as such it will be eagerly and extensively read. We cannot better conclude this notice than with the following extract.

"It is no small trial to the spirit, even in a land where the church has no secular power to enforce its decrees, to be stigmatized by a dominant party as an enemy to the Saviour, and have one's name cast out as evil. But where the trial is borne with meekness and faith, it tends to purify and elevate the character, to confirm the allegiance to conscience, and to strengthen attachment to the holy truth for whose sake the obloquy is endured. Dr. Parker bore it thus, and there can be no doubt that he shared a blessing in the result. One of his friends remarked to me, that he thought he had perceived an evident progress, from this time, in the higher attributes of his Christian life. He seemed to feel a new responsibility when he found himself bearing the

burden of a despised and rejected faith. He searched with new diligence into its foundations, he received new convictions of its power and worth, pressed it more closely to his bosom, and exerted himself with new watchfulness in its defence. Not, as I have already said, by contending, but by seeing to it, that, on himself and on those committed to his charge, it was permitted to exert its legitimate influences, and thus vindicate its divine power. When he attributed the increase of the parish, in his discourse on occasion of removing from the old meeting-house, "principally to the liberality of its members and their peaceable spirit," he uttered what was true, but not the whole truth. It was still more owing to the care which its minister took to maintain that peaceable spirit, and to make the truth lovely by its visible effects." — p. xlix.

PALFREY'S *Grammar of the Chaldee, Syriac, Samaritan, and Rabbinical Languages.* Boston: Crocker & Brewster. 8vo. — Our learned readers, we trust, will pardon us, if with a view to such as are not conversant with Biblical studies, we make a few statements, familiar to themselves, respecting the use which this treatise is intended to serve.

The Chaldee language has a claim upon the Biblical student in the circumstance, that in it are composed several chapters of the books of Ezra and Daniel. And scarcely a less importance attaches to it in this connexion, from the fact, that in it we have the Targums, as in the use of their Rabbinical name they are called, (that is, translations, paraphrases, or expositions,) made by Jews; works of different, but all of them of considerable, critical value. The Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan, the former of the Pentateuch, the latter of the Pentateuch and the Prophets, have been commonly referred to a time anterior, or not long subsequent, to the Christian era. There is a version of the principal part of the Hagiographa, which goes by the name of Joseph the Blind, but is argued by Buxtorf to have proceeded from different hands since the sixth century; and another of portions of the Pentateuch, called the Jerusalem Targum, which perhaps is not older than that last named, though a much greater age has been claimed for it.

The Syriac language has been the vehicle of a copious literature. It was anciently the speech of the region bounded by Natolia and Palestine on the north and south, and by the Euphrates and the Mediterranean on the east and west. In the sequel of the Persian and Macedonian conquests, it received an infusion of numerous foreign words, and is believed to have been materially altered from its primitive shape, of which specimens appear in inscriptions on the ruins of Palmyra. From the fourth century, when Ephrem wrote in it, in that dialect which is called the Edessene, down to the tenth, it continued to be used in writings in various departments of literature and science. The Maronites of Mount Lebanon, and the remnant of Sabians, or disciples of John

the Baptist, still employ it in religious services; but, since the twelfth or thirteenth century, it appears, notwithstanding the hearsay statements of some modern travellers to the contrary, to have been wholly supplanted by the Arabic as a vernacular tongue. The special interest which it has for the biblical student, arises from the circumstance of its exhibiting a version of the Old and New Testament Scriptures, of the first consideration both for antiquity and merit. The Peshito, or *accurate* (sometimes translated *literal*) Syriac version, as it is named to distinguish it from others, of inferior character and much more recent date, is called by Michaelis the best version of Scripture which has ever been made, the German of Luther being reckoned by that critic as the next best. Its early date (its origin being traced by most writers to a period within thirty or forty years of the composition of most of the books of the New Testament, and by scarcely any to a time later than the second century,) gives it the highest critical value, for purposes both of emendation and of exposition. And, again, the peculiar fact of its exhibiting the discourses of Jesus in essentially the same words in which they were uttered by himself, cannot fail to make it a most attractive subject of examination.

The Samaritan language was that of the district between Judæa proper and Galilee. Its vocabulary is made up partly from the Hebrew; still more from the Aramæan, or Syriac and Chaldee; and, in small part, from words introduced by that colony from beyond the Euphrates, of which we read in 2 Kings xvii. 24. The Samaritan character has generally been held to be that anciently in use among the Hebrews; the letter in which we now have the Hebrew Scriptures being supposed to have been brought from Babylon on the return from the captivity. In that character we possess that peculiar instrument of emendation, the Samaritan Pentateuch, which is merely the Hebrew Pentateuch expressed in Samaritan letters. We have also a version of the Pentateuch into the Samaritan language, dated by Walton and others before the Christian era.

In the Rabbinical dialect the Talmuds are composed, and numerous more modern comments of Jewish doctors. To one well acquainted with Hebrew and Chaldee, few rules are necessary by way of introduction to the forms, though they vary, in different writers, in a manner which extensive practice only can make entirely familiar. The vocabulary is completely given in Buxtorf's "Lexicon Chaldaicum, Talmudicum, et Rabbinicum." What a rich storehouse of materials for the elucidation of the New Testament the Talmuds contain, every one knows who has been in the habit of consulting Lightfoot's or Schöttgen's "Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ," or the New Testament of Wetstein, or the Commentary of Rosenmüller, who have both helped themselves largely out of those collections. But the Talmuds, we

believe, are to bring unexpected wealth of this kind to light, when they shall have been sufficiently examined by scholars, who, having juster views of the interpretation of the New Testament, than those from whom hitherto they have received most attention, will search in them for a different kind of illustrations.

The work before us is compendious, for reasons suggested by the author in his Preface; but, as far as it shall prove to be so rather through condensation than omission, so far this will be no occasion for regret. If the student should find, that not much, of which he is in search, is passed over, beyond what his Lexicon ought to supply, the province of grammar will then appear to have been essentially kept distinct, as it should be, from that of lexicography.

The Christian Teacher, designed to uphold the Religion of the New Testament, in contradistinction to the Religion of Creeds and Parties. — A monthly publication under this title was commenced in January last by some of our Unitarian friends in England, which promises to be a better exponent of the present state of liberal Christianity in that country than any thing which has yet, appeared. The first two numbers, which are all that we have as yet seen, are preëminently what would be called amongst us practical and evangelic, abstaining almost entirely from merely political or sectarian discussions, and manifesting no inclination for the philosophy of the Priestley and Belsham school. The only danger is, that, unless the work has more to do with passing events and with questions now in controversy in the church, it will fail in the capital point of being sufficiently interesting at home or abroad. That the writers themselves are not deficient in talent and spirit, it would be easy to show by citations without number; but we can only make room for the following, taken from an article on "The Connections between the Providence and the Spirituality of God."

"I apprehend, that in the whole circle of opinions, there is none which holds a place more barely speculative, more located in the region of cold thought, and less applied to its practical uses, than the doctrine of Providence. None deny it, and yet none use it. It is universally admitted, and as universally disregarded. It is one of those truths, which is bereft of its operative power, because it is regarded as so very true, such a household verity, that it attracts to it no new thought, no fresh examination, and is accordingly laid aside, as a fixed and settled matter, in the dormitory of the mind, there to fade through neglect until it is practically dead.

"There is, in this state of belief in the Providence of God, a remarkable peculiarity of the moral being, which claims the most delicate observation from those, who would pierce the outward folds of thought that, drawn over the moving soul, hide us from ourselves like a veil of mist, and who would place their eye on the strange sources of

our sin or our helplessness. I am quite sure of being understood by each mind, through its own experience, when I say, that on this and some other spiritual truths, there is, as it were, a sort of double consciousness in our moral nature, — an exterior belief in the doctrine, and an interior state of feeling, within which its light never radiates and constructed of elements altogether foreign, — one sphere of formal though indefinite acknowledgment, and another sphere of totally independent sentiment and action; — and these two spheres, through that dimness in which every mind without energy passes its life, actually co-existing, the one prominent and the other in the back-ground of consciousness, so that they are never confronted in staring inconsistency. Is it not true, that every specific doctrine of revelation is held in co-existence with a contrasted mass of unchristianized sentiment which virtually neutralizes it, so that whilst the article of faith is not formally displaced from the mind, it is yet seen, when seen at all, through an impure medium, in that sort of indistinctness which neither forces attention nor reveals too glaringly the incongruities of conscience, — through those vapors of alien feeling which the soul should struggle through and scatter, to gaze upon the mountain truth in all the majesty of its magnitude, and in all the beauty of its clear outline, to keep it free from the obscuration of unharmonized thought, standing out to the eye a well-defined and towering guide, with God's own light upon its summit, as it looks heavenwards? Is not the doctrine of the essential alliance between virtue and happiness held in co-existence with a prevailing pursuit of happiness through ten thousand other channels that can claim no such spiritual affinity; — the doctrine of mortality and immortality held in co-existence with many favorite habitudes which mortality shall interrupt, and immortality everlastingly repudiate, and so lodged in some dim and retired chamber of the mind, apart from the busy throng of thoughts that crowd its middle passages; — the doctrine of Providence held in co-existence with wills that consult only themselves, with plans not studious of God's purpose, that they may accord with and be woven into his designs, — with hearts that thrill in their religious restlessness of fearful expectancy, as though their fate rolled upon the turn of chance, and not upon the stable omnipotence of all-wise Love?" — pp. 36, 37.

"The Christian Teacher" is edited, as we understand, by the Rev. J. R. Beard, of Manchester. Each number consists of from sixty to seventy pages, octavo, handsomely printed; the price for the year, or for twelve numbers, is four dollars and a half. Several copies have been received by James Munroe and Co., 134 Washington Street in this city; and we hope and trust that they will be extensively circulated here, and do something to promote a better understanding, and a greater intimacy, between us and our Unitarian friends in England. Why is it that we see so little of their other publications?

Edward Evanson. — If we have done injustice to the memory of Mr. Evanson, in our article on Mr. Cheever, (Vol. XV. page 187,) by classing him with Gibbon, Hume, and other skeptics and unbe-

lievers, we gladly avail ourselves of the opportunity of correcting the error, by inserting the following vindication of his character as a believer in Christianity, taken from a letter addressed to us by Mr. William Alexander, of Great Yarmouth, England.

"Mr. Evanson was the justly honored and highly estimated friend of my younger days; and I unhesitatingly assert, that during a long, useful, and happy life, — and till life's last hour, — he was a decided, consistent, and entirely unwavering believer in Divine Revelation, and on all opportune occasions, whether with orthodox professors, skeptics, or decided unbelievers, a most powerful advocate of the genuine Christian doctrine. Indeed, as has been said on another occasion, 'the sincere love of truth and laborious discharge of duty, which distinguish many Unitarians, *most eminently* distinguished him.'

"The late intelligent and ingenuous Mr. Joyce, (preceptor to the present Marquis of Lansdowne,) in his 'Account of the Life and Writings of Mr. Evanson,' which appeared in 'The Monthly Magazine' of December, 1805, says, 'Notwithstandingthe apparent liberties which this gentleman took with the Scriptures, no man living was a firmer believer in the divine mission of Christ. Every step in his researches seems to have added stability to his former convictions of the truth and high importance of the Christian religion.'

"It is generally, in England, and ought to be universally known, that Mr. Evanson resigned, from conscientious scruples, two livings in the established church; thus making sacrifice of his worldly interest to his Christian duty. And this was not only giving up his preferments, but likewise those reasonable expectations of advancement, which, in one of his uncommon talents, were assuredly well founded.

"Before I had the benefit, or enjoyed the pleasure of his personal acquaintance, I well recollect having heard the justly beloved and venerated Theophilus Lindsey speak of Mr. Evanson in the kindest manner, and in terms of glowing commendation, as a sincere and pious Christian. I speak also from my own knowledge, after a long acquaintance with both these Christian worthies.

"The advantages of a free and confidential intercourse in early life with such men, I now (at the age of seventy-two) perceive can never be adequately appreciated; and therefore, deeply feeling my obligations, I should consider myself both unjust and ungrateful, were I not, boldly and at once, to request you, gentlemen, to afford space for this very inadequate testimony to the character of one so highly estimated, and who possessed so much intellectual and sterling moral worth as the late Mr. Evanson.

"Without a particle of unkindly feeling towards your correspondent, notwithstanding his manifest inadvertence, I would, from

a simple desire to set him right, recommend his immediate perusal of Mr. Evanson's 'Letter to the Bishop of Worcester,' 'which,' says Mr. Lindsey, 'deserves nothing less than the serious consideration of the whole Christian world, whilst it shows the rare abilities and strong method of reasoning of the writer.'"

As the subscription list of the Christian Examiner has, owing to several causes, considerably diminished during the last two or three years, the Society of gentlemen under whose auspices it has been conducted, have deemed it necessary to make increased efforts to obtain the necessary support for the work. With this view they have determined that the next volume shall commence a NEW SERIES, in which they will study to introduce a greater variety of topics than hitherto, and to give, in the same space, a greater amount of religious and literary information. Individuals to whom the Examiner has been indebted for a large share of its reputation, but who have not of late been able to contribute much to its pages, have promised to renew their aid, and make its success an object of their attention and solicitude.

The editorial responsibility will devolve, for the present, on the last of the undersigned.

FRANCIS W. P. GREENWOOD.
JAMES WALKER.

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